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Sub-Saharan Africa Report



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21 November 1985

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

GEOPOLITICAL AREAS OF INTEREST DISCUSSED

Paris LE MOIS EN AFRIQUE in French Aug-Sep 85 pp 151-158

[Article by Lt Col Camille Nkoa Atenga of the Cameroonian Armed Forces]

[Text] ~~Camille Nkoa Atenga is a lieutenant colonel in the Cameroonian Armed Forces, a graduate of the Staff College, and head of the Military Secretariat of the Ministry of Armed Forces in Yaounde.~~

Africar areas of interest? We are indeed faced with that question. And it is probably facing us more acutely now than before, and for various reasons, both major and minor. Are those reasons perceived or hidden from view? That is an entirely different question, and it most certainly depends on the geopolitical world view held by each of Africa's sovereign states.

But just as it does no real good to sweep in front of one's own door unless those around one do the same, so it can also be said without exaggeration, in these days of obligatory interdependence, that an African state's geopolitical world view is necessarily of interest to several other states on the continent, if not all, and even to countries beyond.

What this boils down to is that although each African state marks out and proclaims areas of interest more or less vaguely and openly or, failing that, silently acts or behaves in a passive way designed let the others discover its areas of interest, there indubitably exists, in this area as in many others, a common denominator, small though it be, which deserves meticulous definition and careful visualization as a step--one of the positive steps--toward that necessary but elusive unity being untiringly sought by the Africa of states.

To tell the truth, it is curious to note, when one does not simply experience it, the naivete or, let us say, the otherworldliness (if not both) that is sometimes displayed by at least some Africans when the media draw attention to the military spending engaged in throughout the world and particularly by the developed countries. You will recall that several years ago, SIPRI [Stockholm International Peace Research Institute], the very serious and scholarly Swedish institute that devotes itself to peace research, estimated the world's total spending on armament at \$550 billion per year. Well! Even though the

curve of military spending in Africa is continuing cheerfully on its merry way, many African observers, and important ones at that, saw in that fact--and still see in the military budgets of the big powers--a patent manifestation of the latter's selfishness.

Quite obviously, it is not only from our Africa--cowering though it is under the persistent threat of drought, refugees, and hunger--that loud voices are being raised to decry the policy in the industrialized countries for the allocation of efforts to development aid. Alain Revel and Christophe Riboud (1)--to mention only them--estimate that if the United States were to utilize its full agricultural potential, it could provide enough food to feed 4 billion human beings. But that is not at all surprising to anyone who knows that the "green weapon," which is of primary importance for the same reason that black gold is, is a major asset in the big international game.

Outside Africa, however, considering a certain number of parameters not yet evident in the African perception of the world and of things, it is generally felt that not only was Machiavelli right when he wrote that "politics is made up of ingratitude, not of generosity," but also that power--to which, fortunately or unfortunately, Africa does not seem to aspire--is a state's capacity to influence the very complex workings of the international system, particularly from the standpoint of its own national interests. National interests--we have reached the crux of the matter.

In our ultramediatized world, every African, whether or not an observer of the international scene, ought to know that beyond the now selective arms race underway between East and West and beyond the still muffled Star Wars that they have just undertaken with some determination, the backdrop in the minds of the "belligerents" is the famous carving up of the world that took place first in Berlin and then in Yalta.

Let us recall very especially that in Berlin, following a lengthy conference that lasted from November 1884 until February 1885, the European powers (France, Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Portugal, and Spain) split up Africa into zones of influence and divided those zones among themselves (a situation that lasted until 1913) for the basic reasons that we are all aware of: faced with the economic crisis that was raging in Europe at the end of the 19th century, they needed to find other markets and secure new sources of raw materials for themselves. And all--as Prince Bismarck was to say at the conclusion of the conference--in such a climate "as to provide the trade and industry of all nations with the most favorable conditions for their development and security."

In Yalta--this brings us up to February 1945, of course--it was a question of cutting up another cake. Although Africa did not enter expressly into the ingredients of this new cake, it was nevertheless present in the thoughts of the Big Three in that area of the Crimea where East and West were already sizing each other up and where the great powers--including absent France--were taking for themselves the role of policeman of the world. Including Africa? That question is worth being considered. By the conscience of independent Africa, of course.

And only by the conscience of independent Africa, because while Africa was a nonperson at Yalta and therefore viewed solely in terms of the interests of the European countries--a fact not of a sort to please the Soviet Union--the question remains as to whether African independence has altered European and Soviet geopolitical views of the African continent in the slightest degree.

In other words, from being a zone of influence, land of markets, and source of raw materials for Europe, which it was, thanks to colonization, before the era of independence, what has the Africa of states become with the patina of time?

That question may offend some people's sensitivities, particularly in Africa. Especially when one forgets, or pretends not to know, that Europe is more fearful of the expansion of Soviet influence in Africa as a strategy designed to enable the Soviets to control Europe's source of raw materials and energy (not all such sources, but the bulk of them) than as an ideological threat. And when one remembers that even Lenin in his day observed that control of Africa would lead to control of Europe, one is better able to understand why Africa--our Africa--has become the transfer zone for the conflicts being carried on between East and West through the African countries. Because East and West are both being observant, and quite shrewdly so. In other words, they are observing in the light of geopolitics. And both in the East and in the West, as we are tired of hearing, that geopolitics is concerned with the strategic and economic facilities of the ideologically similar states or groups of states located on their continental and maritime peripheries. This is done in constant consideration of the compelling fact of our time that local problems become worldwide problems--a phenomenon made inevitable by the economic interdependence of nations. It is a phenomenon which itself sometimes, if not always, leads to inextricable strategic complementarities that quickly become operative thanks to the subsonic speed of information and the lightning progress of science and technology. This happens all the more quickly in that intervention or rapid deployment forces benefiting from extensive logistic facilities--throughout the world and especially in Africa--are watching everywhere with weapons at the order arms. The weapons in this case are being held on the bridge of an aircraft or that of a warship.

You may be thinking that we have wandered a long way from our original topic, but we have not wandered all that far.

Not all that far because it is precisely in order to defend or expand areas of interest that the strategies outlined above are developed and refined in both the East and the West. So it is far from superfluous--for Africa especially and with a continuing view to the delimitation of its areas of interest--to cast a furtive glance at geopolitics in the East and particularly in the West.

In Western strategic thinking generally, it is felt that the space to be protected by deterrence involves a great number of diverse parameters, both objective and subjective, some avowed and some unmentionable. Included pell-mell among those parameters are, unquestionably, the right of the states to (inalienable) sovereignty and integrity, the right to be different (also inalienable), and the duty to guarantee those rights and many others as well--meaning, in the final analysis, the right of those states to exercise

power with respect to their many and diffuse interests and those (perhaps) of their allies, who may be allies from pure hearts, for strategic reasons, or simply out of veiled constraint.

On this level, therefore, one can distinguish several areas whose number, dimension, and significance depend on the geopolitical view of the country concerned and on its more or less specific idea of its own role in the concert of nations. All of this is apparently helpful in visualizing the various kinds of potential threats facing the nation and in sharpening the "tools" most suitable for countering those threats.

The first of those areas--the holy of holies, the veritable Kaaba--is the "national sanctuary," which the military traditionally describe briefly as the "redoubt" in terms of strategy for the defense of a sensitive point and for the integrity of which it is everyone's duty--a national duty--to fight every inch of the way to the point of making the supreme sacrifice.

Beyond that come the glacis and the borderlands constituting the land, sea, and air spaces in which even the temporary deployment of forces other than those to which one has become accustomed and against which a consistent counterstrategy has already been sketched out arouses justified questions as to the intentions of the originator of that new or strengthened threat to the life of the national sanctuary.

Last but not least, there are the areas of national interest scattered around the world. They cover--according to the West--those countries linked to the state in question by defense agreements or by cultural or vital economic flows or perhaps by a similar philosophical approach to the world's political and moral development. Added to those countries and completing the loop of areas of national interest are the maritime areas essential to the merchant traffic of the country concerned.

As can easily be seen, the primary purpose of the glacis and the borderlands is to provide protection, and they are part of a strategy for the periphery that very naturally leads rulers and other strategists to seek relations of coexistence between their own countries and those on the periphery so as to be able to benefit from strategic and economic facilities that are sure and durable because they are mutual.

In this connection, and in connection with everything related in general to the Soviet Union's global strategy, it has been widely stressed in the specialized Western press since 1960--the key year, oddly, as far as the independence of African countries is concerned--that the USSR is striving not only to increase its influence on its own periphery and that of its Eastern allies but also to increase its ability to monitor if not to control all the continents and the major shipping routes.

According to those media, the Soviet Union is implementing a three-level strategy in its pursuit of those geopolitical objectives: a peripheral strategy, an ideological strategy, and a maritime strategy.

The ideological strategy, which is being deployed outside the Soviet Union's traditional sphere of influence, is said to be aimed at establishing states with a socialist orientation, or rather, of promoting that orientation in states following something other than the "people's" path.

Its maritime strategy is said to be aimed at providing the Soviet Navy with the necessary bases for its deployment all over the world's oceans for reasons not related solely to training and the building or maintenance of readiness.

What we can say, or rather, deduce from all the above is that in both the West and the East, geopolitics is indeed a basic and permanent fact of daily life even if, as is normal, its content and even the angle from which it is approached differ here and there. Life--that is, the philosophical notion of life--is, after all, a question of vocabulary. There is no doubt, however, that if it faced itself straight on, Africa would see its fragmentary or complete profile silhouetted against the imaginative backdrop of the patchwork of either the East's or the West's areas of strategic interest. Are you saying that one does not escape easily from the shadow of Berlin and Yalta? I am not putting words in your mouth.

Seeing that Africa's importance has been increased against its will by the strategies of others, what else can it do except seek to define its own areas of interest in terms, obviously, of its own personal equation and under the powerful spotlight of its gradual growth in the direction of unity?

In defining its areas of interest, and despite the shadow with which the East and the West are covering it, Africa must carefully avoid adopting the ways of thinkers in the East and West. There are various easily imagined reasons for this, notably the following:

1. The circumstances of the moment do not entitle anyone to regard Africa as an ideological entity.
2. For the moment, Africa's defense problems do not seem to be continental in scope, with a common enemy to be contained or combated by the traditional conventional methods of the East and the West.

For those reasons and many others as well, it clearly appears that Africa does not possess the same "trump cards" and is not inspired by the same motivations as those impelling the East and the West and therefore is not able, in present conditions, to forge for itself a three-stage strategy with the consistency of the strategies outlined above.

But geopolitics--"the guide and conscience of the state," as the German Ratzel defined it--is not the prerogative solely of states in the East and the West.

In this respect, incidentally, African constitutions and the excellent OAU Charter are real masterpieces abounding in laudable and laudatory intentions.

African states--all African states--are extremely concerned with safeguarding their national sovereignty and integrity as well as their independence. In

their written texts at least, all African states place a high value on strengthening their unity and solidarity and on developing international cooperation, all out of an obvious concern for the well-being of their peoples. This is not all. But it seems sufficient for contributing to the desirable delimitation of Africa's principal areas of common interest.

The notion of areas of interest--since we must, of course, examine it with the ingenuous eye of an African--surely dates back, for those who believe the story of creation, to the day when Jehovah, as reported in Genesis, drove man out of the Garden of Eden. That is, the day on which, after man's sin, he was condemned without appeal to live thereafter by the sweat of his brow. The notion of areas of interest therefore brings us back immediately to the notions of man's life and survival--to those of the existence and further growth of an organized sociopolitical entity.

Even in that dim light, and with reference to the African states in particular, it is quite clear that the principal area of interest can only be the three-dimensional space of the immediate periphery--that is, the space occupied by all surrounding countries and any existing maritime spaces. The reason is that unlike the situation in East and West, where the problem of hunger is posed in terms more of the quality of vitamins than of their quantity but where, on the other hand, the problem of obtaining supplies of strategic minerals is at the origin of global strategies that are being constantly refined, Africa is faced above all with basic development problems requiring peace within the frontiers of its states. That internal peace itself is conditioned to a large extent by peace on the frontiers--that is, peace with the neighbors with which each state shares land and sea frontiers.

In this first stage of putting the notion of areas of interest into concrete form, one quickly realizes that the paramount concerns of the African states and of the OAU are capable of being brought to a happy conclusion if all the states of independent Africa accept and respect that elementary but vital notion of African geopolitics. This is most certainly worthy of reflection, because in Africa--being tugged at as it is by both East and West--peaceful coexistence, from the standpoint of what that implies in the way of tolerance and the acceptance by states of each other's existence, must be regarded as a constructive philosophy playing a part in the stability not only of the blocs in existence but also of the world itself.

Besides those areas of interest which could thus be described with good reason as immediate and which inevitably create circles of "compulsory" solidarity among all African states, there exist priority areas of economic interest and free areas of economic interest that lie beyond Africa and are under the control in particular of the big industrial powers.

My feeling is that the priority area of economic interest consists of those non-African countries which for various reasons, not all of them respectable, either buy willingly or pretend to be making a sacrifice by buying from a state on our poor continent its principal export product, the one on which most if not all of that state's fragile economic health depends.

For its part, the free area of economic interest reflects relative freedom of choice. It consists of economic partners of benefit to the African states--all those countries with which each state maintains bilateral trade relations in a strategic and therefore understandable search for diversified partners.

In both cases, but especially in the former, Africa--the prize at stake in the global strategies of the Soviet Union and the West, meaning chiefly the West European countries--leans much more as a whole toward the West than it does toward the East. Why? The reasons, we are told in the West, have to do with history. There is no need for me to be more specific on that point.

But it is also said and written in the West that Africa represents a stake from the standpoint of geopolitics and mining that is of fundamental importance to the economies of the Western countries. This is not only because Africa produces one-third of the noncommunist world's minerals but also because judiciously arranged African bases--or rather, graciously transferred African bases--make it possible to control the vital sea routes in the Indian Ocean and around the Cape as well as access to the Red Sea.

We repeat that Africa, seen as a collection of isolated states, is divided up into areas of compulsory solidarity, priority areas of economic interest, and free areas of economic interest. The first-named areas arise immediately from the basic ideals of the states, notably as regards the happiness being sought for the African peoples and the desired good-neighbor relations. They also arise especially from the political will of the leaders. The two last-named areas, while also due to the proclaimed intentions of all African states to maintain the most trusting relations of various kinds with all countries in the world, exist for the most part in unstable equilibrium with the global strategy imposed on both sides by the struggle underway between East and West for control of the world as carved up in fact or in the back of someone's mind--in Berlin and Yalta.

In light of this "delimitation," the question may arise as to which areas seem to be of common interest to Africa and therefore to require the implementation of a concerted strategy.

As is known, Buddha felt, and rightly so, that "questions are more important than answers." It is up to each individual, with a map of Africa in front of him, to answer in all honesty. Besides, we have it from Goethe that "man was not born to solve the world's problems but to find out where the problem begins so as to stay within the limits of intelligibility."

FOOTNOTES

1. Alain Revel and Christophe Riboud, "The United States and the World Food Strategy."

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CSO: 3419/3

BENIN

BRIEFS

DPRK FINANCES 'PRESS HOUSE'--On July 15, Cotonou Press House was inaugurated as a "token of the friendship and active solidarity" between Benin and the DPRK. The new Press House, which cost a billion CFA francs, with the DPRK contributing half this amount, is located at Cadjenhoun, Cotonou. [Excerpt] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English Sep 85 p 24]

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CSO: 3400/300

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

FORMER MINISTER SENTENCED--Francois Gueret was sentenced to 10 years without remission on July 31. A magistrate by profession, former agriculture minister, former high commissioner in charge of state enterprises and joint ventures economy. Mr. Gueret was accused of an attempt against the internal security of the state. [Excerpt] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English Sep 85 p 26]

EEC COMMUNITY AID LOAN--An EEC delegation and the CAR Government signed a programme for Community assistance on July 18. The CAR will be granted a sum of 70m European Currency Units (ECU), about 24bn CFA francs, under the national financial package within the framework of Lome III Convention (1986-1990) signed between African, Caribbean and Pacific states and the EEC. [Excerpt] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English Sep 85 p 26]

/12851

CSO: 3400/300

GHANA

BRIEFS

REGIONAL SECRETARY IN BURKINA--The Upper West regional secretary, Salifu Bawa Dy-Yakah, has called on Ghanaians resident in neighboring countries to promote political, cultural and economic relations between Ghana and her neighbors. Addressing the Ghanaian community at Leo during an official visit to the capital of the Sissili Province of Burkina Faso for a working session with his counterpart, Mr Dy-Yakah reminded the Ghanaian community that they are ambassadors whose actions will either promote or destroy the existing relations between Ghana and Burkina Faso. He appealed to Ghanaians living in Leo to engage in activities that will not embarrass their home government. Mr Dy-Yakah said the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council] is concerned with the implementation of the economic recovery program and appealed to them to contribute their quota toward the success of the program. [Text] [Accra Domestic Service in English 0700 GMT 28 Oct 85]

/9599

CSO: 3400/326

BBC INTERVIEWS U.S. JOURNALIST

Powers on Election Results

MB241203 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 23 Oct 85

[From the 'Focus on Africa' program]

[Text] Throughout the campaign for last week's multiparty elections in Liberia, during the elections itself and even now as the votes are being counted, parties opposed to Head of State Samuel Doe's NDPL [National Democratic Party of Liberia] have been complaining about harassment, intimidation, irregularities on polling day, and now about the count. Among the allegations have been the illegal movement of ballot boxes under cover of darkness, of ballot papers being burned, and of a board appointed by the Special Elections Commission to help with the count being staffed with Doe supporters. American journalist Church Powers is in Liberia. Robin White asked him if the complaints were just opposition moans or if they were true.

[Begin recording] [Powers] Well, I think there is some independent confirmation that the ballot boxes containing votes for other national parties, the Liberia Action Party [LAP] in particular, have been removed and they have been stuffed with the NDPL ballots, of Samuel Doe's party. There have also been photographs published in local newspapers of burned ballots and the opposition party people have taken samples of these ballots around to various Western embassies in Monrovia. And there is a sort of a general and widespread impression here among the public that a fairly large scale fraud is in the works.

[White] Now is this being done because Samuel Doe himself knows that he has lost the election or how do you see it?

[Powers] Well, I think it is generally conceded around town that Jackson Doe, the LAP party candidate, has probably won the election with something in the neighborhood of 60 percent of the votes. That feeling comes not just from LAP officials and their supporters, but also from some figures in Samuel Doe's own party who, privately at least, acknowledge that they have been beaten.

[White] A crucial thing now could be what the Americans make of all this, after all the Americans do give Liberia an awful lot of money. A team of observers was sent to view the elections. Is it known what they think about it all?

[Powers] The Americans did send a team of eight or nine observers out in various locations around the country and came back with the impression that at least for the voting process itself, things seemed to go pretty smoothly.

[White] But they haven't said anything at all about what happened since?

[Powers] They have made no official statement about what has happened since, but it has been learned that they are watching the situation with great interest.

[White] You yourself have been out and about outside Monrovia. Are people a bit disturbed outside Monrovia?

[Powers] Well, I took a trip this weekend up to the Nimba country, which is basically a stronghold of Jackson Doe's Liberia Action Party, and fairly reliable estimates there suggest that Nimba County went about 95 percent for Jackson Doe. Interestingly, it is the votes in Nimba County that are alleged to have been burned over the weekend at a town about 60 miles outside Monrovia.

[White] When is any kind of official results going to be announced, is that known yet?

[Powers] Well, there are rumours about that there might be some announcement by this weekend or perhaps on Tuesday. In [name indistinct], the commissioner has said that he will take the full 15 days allotted him by law to announce the results. So that would mean on the 30th of October.

[White] If, as you say, the election is being rigged, is there anything at all to stop Head of State Doe getting away with it?

[Powers] That seems to be the major question in Monrovia at the moment. I think it's fair to say that the Liberian Government, Samuel Doe's government, must be cognizant of the fact that continued United States financial aid is dependent on the perception of these elections being carried out freely and fairly. Now, I think most people believe that the elections process itself, that is the vote that was taken on election day, was probably as fair as it could be under the circumstances. However, it appears at this stage as if the counting process, the process by which the votes are tabulated and the results are announced, has fallen under a great deal of suspicion.

Powers on Vote Counting

MB281631 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 25 Oct 85

[From the 'Focus on Africa' program]

[Text] The picture is beginning to emerge of what the outcome might be of Liberia's first multiparty elections held last week. The official result is not due until the middle of next week. Initially, counting took place at polling stations in the country's various counties and it was observed by the representatives of the three parties opposed to Head of State Samuel Doe's NDPL [National Democratic Party of Liberia]. But the vote still has to be checked by a board set up by the Special Election Commission, Secom, but there seems to be a trend. Charles Powers of the Los Angeles TIMES is in Liberia. Elizabeth Blunt asked him who seems to be winning.

[Begin recording] [Powers] Well, in general they seem to show that Head of State Samuel Doe is in pretty deep political trouble here. What is surprising is the indication that Samuel Doe Kanyon did so poorly; the count suggests that Doe's NDPL party might have won no more than 25 percent of the votes. In (Monteserrado) County for example, which is Monrovia and the largest county in the country, based on results of 98 of 114 polling stations, Doe got about 15,000 votes as against 36,000 votes for the LAP [Liberia Action Party]; that is roughly 25 percent for Doe and 60 percent for LAP. Now, it should be noted that these totals, while they represent about 85 percent of the polling stations, only count for about 61,000 voters out of a total (Monteserrado) County registration of 144,000, so the figures could change.

[Blunt] Now, where are you getting those figures from? Those are not the officially released figures, are they?

[Powers] There have been no officially released figures, but they are based on counts that were taken at polling stations at the close of polling on election day, and in many cases they were signed by the sheriffs and clerks who were on duty in each particular polling station so because the voting on Tuesday people went and tallied up these votes as the election were staged, so totals are maybe not official, they haven't been released by the Special Election Commission here, they have began to leak out. Nimba County, which is the second largest county in the country, went 90 percent for LAP, the head of state won 7 percent. This is based on returns from 115 out of 124 polling stations. The other large county, Loffa County, went heavily for the United Party candidate, Edward Kessely; this is his home area and everyone there pretty much concedes that Kessely won it. He probably outpolled Doe there by a margin of three to one and he beat LAP by 10 to 1 or possibly more. Bong County is likely to have gone for Liberia Unification Party candidate Gabriel (Kopolly). Very few returns from there but those who are in, indicated that Doe ran behind (Kopolly) in Bong County by three to one. (Monteserrado), Nimba, and Loffa Counties are the three largest counties in the country and Doe appears to have lost substantially in all three.

[Blunt] Now, have you got results from any part of the country which do show Samuel Doe in the lead?

[Powers] There is very sketchy returns from (Grand Jerry) County and they seem to indicate that Doe may be leading there but it's probably closer than expected (Grand Jerry) is Doe's home country [as heard].

[Blunt] It is presumably in the interests of individual parties to release the results they have from areas where they themselves are strong, so do you think that is perhaps distorting these early totals?

[Powers] You know, that is a possibility but one has to take into consideration the fact that the counties involved, that have been mentioned, are actually enough to take the elections alone.

[Blunt] Is there a feeling of concern, especially among the people who have the job of manning the election, about these leaked results--after all the feeling that a party could claim any sort of result that it liked and after that nobody would believe the official results whether they were true or not?

[Powers] I think that might well be a concern. [Emmet Harman], the election commission chairman, has been opposed to the release of any kind of results probably for this kind of reason, but there is a kind of pressure that seems to be building up here. It has been a week and more since the votes were taken and you just kind of have a sense of being here in Monrovia that many people want some answers.

/9599

CSO: 3400/325

MADAGASCAR

BRIEFS

MOSCOW REFILLS COFFERS--Madagascar has obtained a loan of 200 million roubles (255 million dollars) from the Soviet Union, Malagasy President Didier Ratsiraka disclosed on October 13 after a tour which took him to Paris, Moscow, Beijing and Pyongyang. Commenting on his visit to China, President Ratsiraka said he [was] very impressed by the "pragmatism" of the government's new economic policy, "which is directed towards efficiency." I.O.N.--This 200 million rouble loan from Moscow will be of considerable benefit to the Antananarivo authorities, though the terms of its repayment have not been revealed. It is known that the principal aim of President Ratsiraka's visits to France and the Soviet Union was to obtain enough funds for Madagascar to repay that portion of its public debt which had not been rescheduled by the Club of Paris last May (amounting to some 60 per cent of the total), not to mention the loans made by commercial banks. This Soviet loan compares with the estimated 221 million dollars in loans and grants to Madagascar last year from all the members of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, as well as bodies like the European Development Fund, the African Development Bank and the International Development Agency. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 19 Oct 85 p 2]

EXCLUSIVE ECONOMIC ZONE MARKED--Under a decree published in the latest issue of Madagascar's government gazette, which appeared at the beginning of October, the country's exclusive economic zone has been fixed at 200 nautical miles. However, where the distance from a neighbouring state is less than 400 miles, the limits of the zone will be decided by mutual agreement, the gazette said. The same decree stipulates that Madagascar's territorial waters extend 12 nautical miles from the shore, thereby annulling the January 1974 law which put the limit at 50 nautical miles. The Gazette made no specific reference to the islands held by France and claimed by Madagascar, namely Juan de Nova, Europa, the Iles Glorieuses and Bassas da India. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 19 Oct 85 p 6]

CONTRACT FOR SOVIET EMBASSY--The contract for the construction of the new Soviet Embassy, totalling 64 million French francs (eight million dollars) is to be signed shortly. The work is due to be completed in March 1987. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 19 Oct 85 p 7]

/8309

CSO: 3400/334

MALAWI

CENSORSHIP BOARD RELEASES LIST

Blantyre MALAWI NEWS in English 28 Sep - 4 Oct 85 p 1

[EXCERPT]

THE CENSORSHIP Board has released an up-dated catalogue of banned publications, cinematograph pictures and records.

An official of the board said that the catalogue which costs K3 is available at the Censorship Board offices and Moni Bookshop in Limbe, Government Printers in Zomba and all Malawi Book Service branches.

He said the catalogue contains titles of all publications, cinematograph pictures and records banned from August 1, 1968 to May 31, 1985.

UNDESIRABLE

The official added that 34 films and video ca-

settes have also been declared undesirable after May this year.

"We would like to advise video shops and club managers to ensure that all video tapes being distributed to the public have showing certificates," he said.

He said members of the general public should verify this before renting video tapes in order to protect their families from undesirable influences.

The official also said that video tapes displayed for hire should have a censorship certificate and identification sticker stating the age category for which the film is suitable.

"The public is reminded that it is an offence which can result in court proceedings if someone is found distributing, possessing or showing any banned cinematograph pictures," he said.

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CSO: 3400/300

MAURITIUS

BRIEFS

PLO RELATIONS--Port Louis and the Palestine Liberation Organisation established diplomatic relations at ambassador-level at the beginning of October. The PLO was allowed to open an office in Mauritius last year. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 19 Oct 85 p 7]

/8309

CSO: 3400/334

MOZAMBIQUE

USSR STEPS UP ARMS SHIPMENTS TO REGION

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 18 Oct 85 p 10

[Article by Keith Abendroth]

[Text]

RUSSIA is shipping ever increasing quantities of military hardware, and particularly conventional weaponry into Angola and Mozambique, according to strategists.

Intelligence feedback from Angola particularly, and from Mozambique, to some extent proves increasing Soviet Bloc involvement in the supply of weapons and hardware such as tanks.

The shifting of the latest offensive by the MPLA's military wing Fapla, from virtual counter-insurgency methods, to conventional war, in the latest campaign against the Unita guerrilla movement of Dr Jonas Savimbi, is seen as part of the pattern.

In this offensive, successfully beaten back by Dr Savimbi, Russians, East Germans and Cubans took a leading role for the first time in a thrust by five armoured

brigades against the Savimbi forces.

According to Professor Mike Hough, director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at Pretoria University, the conventional arms build-up in neighbouring states is obviously linked to internal situations.

Specifically these were Unita's activities in Angola, and the Soviet aim of gaining more influence in certain countries.

"But the build-up does have real implications for South Africa," he said in Pretoria.

The extent of the conventional threat against South Africa would largely be determined by six factors:

These were the country's internal stability; the maintenance by the country of a credible deterrent

standing; regional peace initiatives; the outcome of the civil war situation in Angola and Mozambique; the outcome of the South West Africa question; and the East-West conflict.

In normal circumstances the costs and risks to the Soviet Union, as well as Western reactions, seemed to be a sufficient deterrent to direct conventional action against South Africa, he said.

But a civil war situation in South Africa would provide opportunities for a conventional offensive, as would an East-West conflict which also involved the Southern African region.

It was interesting to note that the 1984 Defence White paper stated that it was improbable that South Africa would

be allowed to remain neutral in a large scale international conflict, as the Republic was one of the destabilisation targets of the USSR.

The aim of the African National Congress was to conduct a conventional war — of the positional and not the mobile variety — with a "weakened" South African Government.

This was seen as a concluding phase of the revolutionary war and hinged on the formation of a "Peoples Army" and on the possession of conventional arms.

"In this sense the stockpiling of arms in neighbouring countries as perceived by South Africa could be relevant in support of a conventional phase in ANC strategy," he said.

South Africa, he said, was involved in a mini armsrace with the Soviet Union in a regional context. While there were limits to what the Soviets could supply to Angola for instance, South Africa herself had technological, financial and manpower restraints which adversely affected her capability to maintain a credible deterrent.

Thus South Africa had to rely increasingly on war potential — a superior ability to wage war if necessary — rather than military potential — the numerical balance of forces, and types of weapon systems.

"This may in future not be entirely dissimilar from the position in which Israel finds herself," said Prof Hough.

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CSO: 3400/312

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

MERCENARY DAM SCHEME--Mercenaries could be hired to ensure the protection of Mozambique's Cabora Bassa dam and the high-tension power line between South Africa and Maputo, a South African official revealed on October 9. Talks on the scheme were scheduled between South Africa's Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM) and Louis NEL, deputy minister for information (who is clearly continuing to be embroiled in Mozambican affairs in spite of his reported differences with the foreign minister Roelof 'Pik' Botha), ESCOM said it had already had discussions with its Mozambican equivalent, but these had not gone beyond the exploratory stage. This news coincides with a report in the West German magazine DER SPIEGEL that a "Federation of German Legionaries" was negotiating with an unspecified African state over the protection of an oil pipeline from terrorists. Also to be noted is 'Pik' Botha's visit to Maputo on October 11 for a meeting with Mozambique's economic affairs minister, Jacinto Veloso and intelligence chief Teodoato Hunguanam. What they discussed has remained secret. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 19 Oct 85 p 2]

MNR SPLIT--The personal diary of Mozambican National Resistance president Afonso Dlakhamana, which was seized when the rebel movement's headquarters in the Gorongosa Mountains was captured by government forces at the end of August, reveals the existence of rivalries between Mr Dlakhamana, the leader of the operational wing of the MNR inside Mozambique, and the organisation's Lisbon-based secretary-general, Evo Fernandes, according to a report by the Mozambican news agency, AIM, on October 10. The report said that several times Mr Dlakhamana complained to South African army colonel Charles Van Niekerk, an intelligence officer who was apparently responsible for day-to-day relations with the MNR, that Mr Fernandes and the MNR's Lisbon spokesman Jorge Correia, were getting more publicity than he was. In fact, Evo Fernandes, accused by the Mozambican authorities of being a member of the former Portuguese secret police, the PIDE, was allegedly been appointed by Colonel Van Niekerk at the request of the South African military, and not on a vote within the MNR. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 19 Oct 85 p 3]

TRADE PACT WITH MOSCOW--The Soviet Union and Mozambique signed a trade agreement covering the next five years on October 11 in Moscow. According to the Soviet news agency, TASS, the agreement, signed respectively by deputy foreign trade minister Gennadi Juravlev and foreign trade minister Joaquim Ribeiro de Carvalho, "will substantially increase the value of trade between the two states, which has reached 139.1 million roubles" (around 180 million dollars). The Soviet Union provides Mozambique with machinery, trucks, oil and food, and purchases minerals and agricultural produce. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 19 Oct 85 p 7]

EEC GIVES AID--The European Economic Community will contribute 145 million ECUs (around 111 million dollars) to assistance programmes in Mozambique during the next five years, EEC delegate Antonio Morangiu said in Maputo on October 10, according to the Portuguese news agency Anop. These credits, which will not be repayable, will be used to increase agricultural output and improve security in the matter of food supplies, he added. After Maputo's ratification of the third Lome trade and aid convention (Maputo became the 65th developing country to sign the convention last December 8), which came into effect in March, EEC food aid (which totalled 66 million ECUs between 1978 and 1984) will be complemented by development aid. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 19 Oct 85 p 7]

BAUXITE EXPLOITATION--A Zimbabwean company, E.C. Meikle, has signed a contract with the Maputo for the exploitation of Mozambican bauxite mines. The company already supplies the needs of Zimbabwean industry for bauxite (for the production of aluminium sulphate used in water purification) from a mine at Mutare in southern Zimbabwe, but these reserves are now on the point of exhaustion. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 19 Oct 85 p 7]

MAPUTO PROMISES HELP FOR PEASANTS--Ten thousand peasant families "were freed from the yoke of the armed bandits" of the Mozambique National Resistance at Gorongosa, Mozambican agriculture minister Joao Ferreira told THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER during a visit to Paris. He added, "We found them without hoes or seeds, and in poor health. I am responsible for a large-scale operation to bring them food aid." A vaccination programme is also being prepared. I.O.N.--One of Maputo's main concerns is to lend all necessary support to the local farmers, knowing that previous errors in agricultural policy were partly responsible for the defection of many peasants to the MNR, and only the restoration of confidence can alter the basic situation. In any case, the battle for the rebels' Gorongosa bases is not yet won: fighting was continuing this week round the Canda and Gogogo camps, while on October 3 the MNR machinegunned a train 80 kilometres north of Maputo, killing 13 people on board. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 12 Oct 85 p 4]

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CSO: 3400/312

NIGERIA

U.S. EGYPTIAN AIRLINER INTERCEPTION VIEWED AS AIR PIRACY

Kano THE TRIUMPH in English 17 Oct 85 p 1

[Editorial: "American Air Piracy"]

[Text]

THE interception by American war planes of an Egyptian airliner conveying the four Palestinian hijackers of the Italian Cruise liner (Achille Lauro) last Friday; is yet another arrogant display of power by the United States.

This air piracy occurred forcing an Egyptian passenger plane to land at a NATO air base in Sicily, in violation of all known International codes of conduct and decency. Reports indicate that U.S. President Ronald Reagan, personally ordered the action which American newspapers welcomed the next day with screaming headlines like "we bagged the bums".

The United States government action may do some good to its national pride but it will neither make innocent Americans safer in international travels, nor will it help world peace.

The catalogue of United States intimidation and violation of the territorial integrity of some nations is increasing almost by the day.

From the shooting down of two Libyan planes over Libyan territory, to the occupation of Grenada; the daily destabilisation of Nicaragua via the mining of its ports, and the financial assistance to all manners of counter revolutionaries in Africa, Latin America and Asia.

We are concerned about this latest act of piracy not only because of its implications to the peace process in the Middle East but also because it has set a dangerous precedence.

The stage is now set and the world will have to be ready to contend with this new dimension of piracy.

We sympathise with the Egyptians over this act of hostility and national humiliation. But the United States has an apology to make not only to Egypt but to the whole world.

Its action has made it very clear to the world that there are two types of terrorists: Those who are fighting for a *cause* and those that wage war to defeat it.

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CSO: 3400/308

NIGERIA

REAGAN'S SANCTIONS VIEWED AS SHAM

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 14 Oct 85 p 5

[Article by Eddy Eke]

[Text]

PRESIDENT Reagan has given instructions to introduce sanctions against South Africa. At first sight this step might seem to be a radical change in his policy towards the regime of apartheid.

However President Reagan's sanctions are just an attempt to save the bankrupt policy of "constructive engagement" with Pretoria. The thing is that the administration has failed to prevent the Congress from adopting resolutions limiting trade and capital investments in South Africa. The Senate was to decide on that matter after the House of Representatives. If the President vetoed the resolutions he would be opposed by the majority of Congressmen. So he decided to put forward his own variant of sanctions to be ahead of the Congress.

The US administration's manoeuvres are evident to all. The French newspaper *L'Echo* noted the formal nature of Reagan's decision in regard to Pretoria. It points out that his economic sanctions are not such. A ban on granting bank credits to the South African government is a formal measure since American banks do not give foreign credits. That South African gold coins and krugers will no longer be sold in the United States will not affect the South African economy as Pretoria can continue to sell gold bars. Reagan's attempt to assure South African authorities through his ambassador that

his measures would do them no harm also speaks of the propaganda character of his decision.

The sanctions proposed by the Congress are far from being radical measures to eliminate the regime of apartheid. They do not go further than President Botha's offer to hold reforms. The world public demands severe punishment for the crimes committed by the racists. The recent declaration by the UN Special Committee against Apartheid calls on all nations to immediately take steps to isolate Pretoria, particularly sever all trade and financial contacts, strictly observe the embargo on arms supplies and end any cooperation in the nuclear field.

The aim of the American administration's new manoeuvres is to delay consideration of effective sanctions in the hope of burying them altogether. In fact these manoeuvres are designed to support the bankrupt regime of apartheid.

NIGERIA

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL

Bishop of Jos Calls for Renewed Relations

Kano THE TRIUMPH in English 8 Oct 85 p 12

[Article by Musa M.E. Ajogi]

[Text]

FOLLOWING President Babangida's statement on the review of Nigerian Foreign policy Rt. Rev. Dr. G.G. Ganaka the Catholic Bishop of Jos has urged the Federal Military Government to restore diplomatic relations with Israel.

Speaking to Triumph in an exclusive interview in his Office Dr. Ganaka who is the President of Catholic Bishops Conference of Nigeria said that it is high time Nigeria normalised her relations with Israel.

He outlined that many Nigerians go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem each year but can not get consular facilities there and here as there are no diplomatic ties with Israel, pointing out that it is always "visas" with tears for Nigerians going to Israel.

Dr. Ganaka revealed that the valuable land Nigerian government acquired in Jerusalem for its embassy is still undeveloped and the authorities in Jerusalem "the

government of Israel hopes that one day Nigeria will use this piece of precious land for her embassy.

The Bishop pointed out that Nigeria has a lot to learn from Israel remarking that Israel has acquired over the years, great experience in converting barren rocky land into agriculturally productive one by wonderful irrigation methods.

He stated that security system in Israel is first class in the whole world adding that Nigeria could learn from this.

The Bishops said that when Nigeria broke her relations with Israel it was supposed to be in the best interest of O.A.U.

According to him, OAU solidarity has now cracked as Zaire, Malawi, Egypt and Liberia have now established diplomatic relations with Israel stressing that it is unfortunate that Nigeria has not reviewed her policy regarding her relations with Israel.

Dr. Ganaka said that reasons given for the rupture as sympathy with the Arab cause could not hold water as Egypt has since normalised her relations with Israel.

Furthermore,

Catholic Bishop of Jos disclosed that when these reasons were unfounded, baseless and could not hold water, our foreign policy spokesmen shifted grounds and said that Nigeria could not possibly have any diplomatic relations with Israel because of her "military" connections with apartheid South Africa.

Bishop Ganaka described the reason as bogus because Nigeria is still friendly and has diplomatic relations with some Western countries that trade with South Africa and supply deadly weapons to the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Former Legislator Says No to Relations

Kano THE TIMES in English 17 Oct 85 p 5

[Article by Sidi H. Ali]

[Text]

FOR sometime now supporters of what can aptly be called agents of Israel have stepped up campaign to have Nigeria restore diplomatic relations with Israel. They are always quick to use as a reason, the return of part of Egyptian land occupied by Israel recently.

These agents of Israel have not been able to call on the Federal Government to accord full recognition to Palestinian Liberation Organisation which the Government of Israel forcefully removed from the land of their birth with the assistance of the Western Nations in 1948.

Only a few weeks ago, West German Chancellor Herr Schmidt publicly warned on Television interview that, "the West should not treat the Palestinian Liberation Organisation as terrorists but as authentic representatives of the Palestinians.

Herr Schmidt also asserted that "West Germany must recognise the Palestinians' moral claim to self determination. "For me this includes their right to organise themselves as a state", said Herr Schmidt. It is

well known that a U.N. resolution known as Resolution 242 which called for an internationally recognised borders between Israel and its Arab neighbours which would have brought peace to the area has been consistently rejected by Israel.

Also in June 1981, European Common Market Assembly meeting in Venice, Italy passed a declaration endorsing Arab Palestinian participation in future negotiations. To entice Israel to embrace the European's peace initiative, they made an irresistible offer of International guarantees for mutually recognised borders between Israel and its Arab neighbours. This Israel again refused. Yet supporters of Israel try to present Israel as an underdog.

The protagonists of diplomatic relations with Israel like to give Egypt as example. If we go by that, then we can equally accept the puppets South African leaders as the authentic leaders of the place by ignoring the circumstances that brought them there.

At one-time, Chairman of United Nations Committee on Apartheid announced the re-

jection of Israeli pounds (about £1,500) to the OAU to help African Liberation Movements, many people were surprised by the action of movements that are in dire need of money.

A representative of the Liberation Movements described the offer as "hypocritical gesture", and a "cheap trick" to get Zionists accepted in Africa.

He went on to say £1,500 is nothing compared to the millions of dollars the Zionists receive from South Africa, which he described as blood money coming from the naked exploitation of black people at the hand of South Africa, Zionists and their collaborators.

The delegates supported his rejection with documents which showed that after the June 1967 war, that South African regime contributed £21,000,000

to Israel in one day and another £100,000,000 during the next 3 months.

The Liberation Movements have created the picture of Israel being a racist state which helps to suppress the legitimate desire of black majority in their own country.

How can one reconcile this picture of Israelis as freedom fighters when at the end of September, 1971 there were about 1,000 Israel soldiers in seventy developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America? 600 of these are government sponsored, and the rest by Israel firms and other quasi government set-ups.

To establish good intention towards Africa, sometime Israel voted for African interest at the UN but it is also known Israel did work against the interest of Africa.

The blunt admission by the Israel foreign minister Mr. Abba Eban that, if ten other nations had done what Israel did for the Nigerian rebels, the story as at the end of the war would not have been the same. The Nigerian insurgents were known to be receiving their arms via South Africa.

Israel has been courting African friendship, but the relationship between Israel and the colonial powers makes it role suspicious to freedom fighters. But on the other hand, one may understand the stand of Israel.

This was spelt out by the first Israel foreign minister, the late Moshe Sharret when he wrote in a Zionist daily, *Al Hanishmad* of August 8th, 1952, that no assistance to Israel on the part of American Jews is possible if there exists a conflict between Israel and the United States.

He even said there Jewish brothers abroad would not assist them if they did not subordinate themselves to the will of their Governments. I would not commend the Germans on the murder of six million Jews under their fearful system of barbarism, but at the same time do not agree that tragedy be used by Israel in extracting million of German marks as reparation money.

For those murdered, the Federal Republic of Germany agreed in 1952 to pay, 3,000 million marks to the State of Israel. Apart from this, there is payment of 450 million marks to Federation of Zionist Organisations.

As far as 1955 when African and Asian leaders met at Bandung in Indonesia a resolution was passed which declared full support for the rights of the Arab people of Palestine and calls for implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Palestine and the achievement of peaceful settlement of the Palestine question.

Israel has, of course, consistently rejected any U.N. resolutions and is belligerent because of her support by the Western powers. It is even more gratifying that, the newly appointed External Affairs Minister, Professor Bolaji Akinyemi is a veteran anti relation with Israel.

SIDI H. ALI is a former Legislator at the Federal House of Representative.

NIGERIA

LETTER UPHOLDS ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM INTEGRITY

Kano THE TRIUMPH in English 11 Oct 85 p 13

[Article by Shehu G. Durbunde]

[Text]

I AM writing to you first as a fellow muslim and citizen based on which we have some common interest to share and defend.

I chose this medium not because it is the best, but because the issue involved is a public one.

The issue of fundamentalism; and who actually is a fundamentalist is one on which consensus is hard to come by.

The term fundamentalism as we have it today and as it is by the Nigerian media and indeed the domint World Press; is deliberately introduced to ridicule, abuse and finally destroy the immense global strength of what you and I believe in and of course our persons.

Simply defined, Fundamentalism, is "the insistence on adhering to the orthodox interpretation of one's religion or ideas". I cannot see anything wrong with that.

Now, brother, my point or disagreement deals with your declaration to President Babangida. that, religious fundamentalism by some people is as a result of the misunderstanding of the teachings of Islam" and that "should the people understand the teachings of Islam there should have been quarrel with anybody".

It sounds to me, as if you are off-track of history otherwise you should have known that you and your organisation are beneficiaries of some other militants' struggles.

The most informed of this religion. Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) to be precisem fought violently to establish it.

Were it not for the militancy and audacity of his orthodox caliphs, the first four to be orthodoxly exact, Islam as a religion must have by now been entered in to history books as a once

upon a time movement in the peninsula of the Arabs just as west Africa's Songhai Empire, has been.

If my readings are correct, the Noble Prophet had to shun all worldly offers in cash and kind, including leadership, just to carry on with the message.

"Who ever amongst you" said prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.), sees an unislamic thing, he should stop it with his hands (Forcefully) if he lacks the required strength he should warn against it (emphasising the consequences) if he can't do even that he should express his disgust in his mind (Allah knows that) and that is the least of the faithfuls".

Most of you would not have been enjoying your present statuses without the revolutionary ventures of Shaykh Othman Fodio.

Now back to the coun-

cil you represent and which you would have us believe that it represents the interest of muslims all over the country.

Its efforts have been a failure and all pointers show that it will remain so.

The few Ulamas within are more of society men who see nothing in the system as long as a muslim rules.

Where was the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs when muslim interests were disregarded in major policy issues such as the Shari'a, the continued proliferation of beer breweries even in the north, and the subordination of islamic views and studies in our institutions?

Where was the supreme council when the

penal code was imposed on the faithfuls in the north? The Baba addinis (what ever that means) in the south have been calling for Shari'a courts in the south, how many times have our own Baba Addinis advocated for the abolishing of the penal code?

It is time that your council woke up to its responsibilities.

To give credit where it is due, I really believe as you do that, "It is through education that people can really understand what religion means" so many schools and institutions abound to the credit of the Dargas and Izala movements in Nigeria.

We are, however still awaiting 'a **supreme school for Islamic studies**'

/8309

CSO: 3400/309

NIGERIA

INTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER ON BORDER POLICING

Kano THE TRIUMPH in English 8 Oct 85 p 2

[Text]

— *Shagaya*

THE Minister of Internal Affairs, Lt.-Col. John Shagaya, said in Lagos that the country's land borders cannot be effectively policed because of lack of equipment and trained personnel.

The minister said lack of communications equipment, security gadgets, helicopter and staff were responsible for the low performance of the immigration department in effectively monitoring the borders.

Lt.-Col. Shagaya said the ministry would look into the equipment procurement policy of the last administration so that necessary action could be taken.

He said that about 900 newly recruited immigra-

tion officers were currently undergoing training in Kano, adding that by 1988 the immigration department's staff strength would have increased by 3,000 to ensure its effective performance.

Lt.-Col. Shagaya said that the nature of the country's land borders called for security awareness and that the government would take adequate measures to correct the situation.

The minister said that the unco-operative attitude of the Beninoise security agency with their Nigerian counterparts to arrest smugglers would be peacefully discussed by the two governments.

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CSO: 3400/309

NIGERIA

CLOSER TIES WITH BURKINA FASO EXPLORED

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 19 Oct 85 p 13

[Text]

THE President, Major-General Ibrahim Babangida has said that the possibilities of closer trade relationship between Nigeria and Burkina Faso would be explored.

General Babangida gave the assurance while speaking to a delegation from Burkina Faso led by Major Boukary Jean-Baptiste Lingani, the Minister of Defence and Chief of Staff, at Dodan Barracks, Lagos.

The President said that proposals and possibilities of an air link, private sector ventures and petroleum trade between the two would be looked into.

President Babangida pointed out that there were many other areas of co-operation between the two countries, adding that those that have been in abeyance would be reactivated.

Major Lingani had earlier told the president that Burkina Faso hoped that the promise by Nigeria to establish an air link and buy Burkinabe manganese would be positively considered and expressed his country's wish to buy Nigeria's petroleum.

Major Lingani then suggested that a joint commercial week to display Nigerian and Burkinabe made products and goods should be held.

Other members of the delegation are Mr. M. Bonnaventure Compaore, Mr. M. Arba Diallo, Director of Political Affairs and Adviser to President Thomas Sankara, respectively and Mr. Y. Yongbare Leon, Burkina Faso charge d'affaires in Nigeria.

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CSO: 3400/308

NIGERIA

SWAPO APPRECIATES GENEROUS FREEDOM FIGHTER AID

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 14 Oct 85 pp 1, 3

[Article by Ibrahim Usman]

[Text] NIGERIA has always been in the forefront of African countries in assisting the liberation movement in Namibia, a SWAPO representative, Mr. Herman Ithete, said in Kaduna yesterday.

Mr. Herman told the *New Nigerian* that material support from Nigeria to the Namibian people had always been forthcoming and plentiful, in addition to the moral support the Namibian liberation movement had been enjoying from Nigeria right from the beginning of its struggle.

He also said that the SWAPO leadership has been coming to Nigeria with demands for specific weapons which they lack and that their requests had always been honoured.

Mr. Herman who is resident in Lagos, was in Kaduna for discussions with the authorities of the Ahmadu Bello University, (ABU), Zaria on the issue of admitting some Namibian students into the university.

The negotiation between the SWAPO and ABU, Zaria on the possibility of admitting some Namibian students started last February.

Mr. Herman brought along with him the results of 27 Namibian students to submit to the university's authorities and to make further enquiries on the issue.

Four Namibian students have completed their studies this year

at the Kaduna Polytechnic and Mr. Ithete said he would ask the authorities to consider them for admission into the HND programme.

There are about 118 Namibian students aged 14 - 18 in federal institutions in Nigeria, he said.

Mr. Herman is seeking the help of higher institutions in Nigeria to admit Namibian students in a bid to develop the manpower needs of the Namibian people.

He commended Sweden for approving a steady budget for Namibia every year adding that Holland and Denmark were also following the footsteps of Sweden.

"The Cubans identify with the sufferings of Africans in more practical terms" he said. Right now over 3,000 Namibians were being educated in Cuba.

Two secondary schools were set for Namibians in Cuba following the Kassinga massacre of Namibians by the South African forces in 1978 when all survivors mostly children were evacuated to Cuba for treatment and rehabilitation.

NIGERIA

COMMENTARY ON MOROCCO'S REQUEST ON SDAR ISSUE

AB270920 Lagos Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 26 Oct 85

[Commentary by Alex Ikenyawu]

[Text] The Western Sahara issue, prior to the OAU recognition of the SDAR, had always been a thorn in the flesh of African states. Even after the OAU recognition of SDAR, the issue is far from settled. There are two reasons for this. The first is that fighting is still going on in Western Sahara between Morocco and the Polisario Front. Secondly, the Kingdom of Morocco, a founding member of the OAU, has withdrawn her membership of the continental organization.

Western Sahara has been a source of concern to the international community since Spain withdrew from the territory without handing it over either to Morocco or the Polisario. This led to the outbreak of war between the two contending parties for the control of the phosphate-rich desert territory. Efforts of the OAU to resolve the issue amicably proved abortive. In the process it led to the disruption of two OAU summits and threatened its very existence. The deadlock has remained even after the SDAR was admitted as a member of the OAU at its 20th summit in Addis Ababa last year.

Now, a new element has been introduced to the Western Sahara conflict at the insistence of Morocco. In a special message to President Ibrahim Babangida, King Hassan expressed Morocco's readiness to declare a cease-fire in the war-torn territory. He also disclosed his country's desire to hold a referendum in the territory under the auspices of the United Nations. King Hassan then asked for Nigeria's assistance in resolving the Western Sahara dispute.

Morocco's new stand on the Sahara conflict represents a remarkable policy shift toward peaceful resolution of the conflict. This is because the impression has been that Morocco holds the key to peace in Western Sahara. How would Nigeria come into the picture of this new development? To begin with, it is common knowledge that Nigeria cannot be said to be neutral in the Saharan conflict following her withdrawal from the OAU Implementation Committee on Western Sahara and the recognition of the SDAR. But while the status quo remains, Nigeria can take the initiative and work toward the implementation of the cease-fire proposed by Morocco and the holding of a referendum to determine the true wishes and aspirations of the Saharan people.

In sending a special message to President Babangida, King Hassan realizes the crucial role Nigeria can play in bringing about lasting peace in Western Sahara. The Polisario Front should seriously consider Morocco's proposal although her UN representative has described it as an attempt to legitimize Morocco's military occupation. But the most important thing is that Morocco is now waving an olive branch. This is an opportunity the Polisario Front should not allow to slip. Both the Saharan and Moroccan people want peace in the region. Any way it is resolved without further bloodshed, we suppose, will be most welcome to them. While we keep our fingers crossed for events to start unfolding in that territory, we sincerely hope that the issue of referendum once settled will lay to a final rest the explosive political conflict in Western Sahara. And for this to happen, both Morocco and the Polisario Front must repose confidence in the body conducting the referendum and undertake to abide by its outcome.

/9599

CSO: 3400/326

NIGERIA

PRESIDENTIAL COMMITTEE ON IMF LOAN PRESS STATEMENT

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 12 Oct 85 pp 13-14

[Text]

INTRODUCTION:

The attention of the general public is hereby drawn to a recent publication by the Cabinet Office in which details of the negotiations so far held between Nigeria and the IMF were provided. This publication was, for example, carried by the Sunday Times of 29th September, 1985 (See pages 7, 12 and 13).

2. The Committee, however, wishes to bring some additional information to the attention of the public and to highlight certain aspects of the Report with a view to facilitating an easier and fuller assessment of the situation.

Economic Situation Before and After the Application to the IMF

3. It is considered necessary to provide a more comprehensive picture of the performance of the Nigerian economy before and after Nigeria resorted to the IMF for a balance of payments support loan. There had been a drastic fall in the country's earnings from oil export which, for example, accounted for 97% of total export earnings in 1982 as follows:-

Year	Amount (N in billion)
1980	12.037
1981	10.68
1982	8.03
1983	6.386
1984	8.318

On the other hand, the import bills for the period were as follows:

Year	Amount (N in billion)
1980	9.096
1981	12.99
1982	10.77
1983	8.903
1984	7.178

4. As a result of these developments, a backlog of trade arrears of about N2.6 billion on documentary credits had accumulated by December, 1982. Outstanding credits in respect of bills on Open Accounts were even higher. By the time Nigeria resorted to the IMF for a loan in 1983, short term trade arrears amounting to over N4 billion had accumulated.

5. On the domestic front, the problem of excess expenditure over income was very acute. In 1983, for example, the Federal Government budget deficit was estimated at about N6.6 billion. (This was, however, drastically reduced in 1984 to N3.3 billion). Arrears of salaries owed to workers by some State Governments accumulated up to the tune of about N690.92 million. The Gross National Product declined from N49,454.9 million in 1982 to N47,056.6 million in 1983. Since 1981, the rate of growth of the economy has been negative, whereas the population growth rate averaged 2.5% annually. Unemployment was high and increasing. So also was inflation.

6. The Government applied for a three-year EFF programme because of the severity and structural nature of Nigeria's balance of payments problem as well as the easier repayment terms. It was felt then that a three-year programme would be required to put the economy back on the path of sustained growth and development in view of the larger extent of Nigeria's balance of payments disequilibrium.

AREAS OF AGREEMENT WITH IMF

7. Since Nigeria's application to the IMF for a loan, a series of negotiations have taken place between top Nigerian officials and IMF staff. These negotiations centred on the conditionalities for the loan; i.e. those measures which Nigeria should agree to take in order to obtain the loan. Incidentally, the Nigerian Government had, at that time, become seriously perturbed by the deteriorating economic situation and had already introduced a number of austerity measures in order to

contain the situation. Many of the recommendations of the IMF coincided with Government thinking. Consequently, there were no difficulties in reaching agreement with the Fund staff on such measures which included:-

- reduction in the aggregate public expenditure particularly in the size of the budget deficit;
- introduction of greater budgetary discipline;
- review of on-going projects with a view to determining their priorities;
- reduction in grants, subventions and loans to parastatals;
- classification of parastatals into "social" and "economic" activities for purposes of restructuring them to achieve cost-effectiveness, accountability and, for economic parastatals, profitability;
- stoppage of non-statutory transfers to State Governments;
- Simplification and rationalisation of Customs tariffs;
- upward review of interest rates and reduction in the sectoral allocation of credit;
- phased removal of subsidies on fertilizer;
- vigorous export drive to broaden the export base;
- review of industrial incentives and policy including the abolition of the Approved User Scheme;
- adjustment of producer prices of agricultural commodities;
- strict external debt control and management; and
- improvement in the operational efficiency of revenue collection agencies such as the Department of Customs & Excise and Inland Revenue

8. The agreement reached between Nigerian and the IMF on these measures were, however, in principle only. The details of these measures could not be worked out as the negotiations could not advance to the stage of establishing performance criteria. All the same, the Nigerian government went ahead and implemented most of these measures, believing them to be in the overall interest of the economy.

AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT

9. The measures on which no basic agreement could be reached between the Nigeria officials and the IMF staff were as follow:

- (a) **Trade Liberalisation:** The IMF officials had insisted that Nigerian should liberalise her trade policy by abolishing the Advance Deposit Scheme, decentralising Form "M" approvals, eliminating the absolute-prohibition of certain goods, phased removal of quantitative restrictions on imports and reduction in the number of goods under specific import licence requirement. The IMF staff favoured greater use of the tariffs and exchange rate action to control imports into the country. The first two measures were accepted and, in fact, implemented. The others were not. However, in 1984, the IMF Executive Board, in considering the 1983 Article IV Consultation report on Nigeria, accepted that trade liberalisation should be considered in the context of foreign exchange availability.
- (b) **Removal of Petroleum Subsidies:** The IMF officials recommended the removal of the subsidies on petroleum products in Nigeria. This would be made in one step or, at most, over the three-year period of the EFF programme. The objective, according to the Fund staff, was to curtail waste in the domestic consumption of petroleum products, increase export of either crude or refined petroleum products, and generate income for government.
- (c) **Adjustment of the Rate of Exchange of the Naira:**

The IMF considered that the Naira was over-valued by about 60% as at May, 1984, and recommended a 25—30% initial devaluation so as to bring the Naira to parity with the US Dollar. This would be followed by quarterly review (and possible further devaluations depending on the performance of the economy after the adoption of the programme) until the element of over-valuation was eliminated. The IMF Staff argued that devaluation would increase the Naira content of oil export earnings, encourage domestic production for export especially agriculture products, discourage importation, encourage research into local substitutes for imported goods including raw materials, stimulate more judicious allocation of resources in the economy, and remove the hidden subsidies on imports which benefit largely the importer.

REFINANCING OF TRADE ARREARS

10. It should be noted that parallel to the negotiations for the IMF loan, Nigerian officials were also engaged in negotiations to refinance the short-term trade arrears so

as to ease the crippling bunching of her external debt. The arrears on Letters of Credit totalling about N1.4 billion were refinanced in 1983. Reconciliation and verification of the arrears on Open Accounts were also commenced. In this category, claims totalling 8.61 billion dollars have been received. Of these, 2.0 billion dollars has been verified by Chase and awaiting confirmation by the Central Bank of Nigeria. Promissory Notes for N808.5 million has already been issued. It should be emphasized that the major obstacle in the refinancing exercise has been the refusal of the Export Credit Agencies (ECAs) to refinance their insured trade arrears of about 2.0 billion dollars, unless Nigeria reached agreement with the IMF. It should also be pointed out that our medium/long-term debt cannot also be rescheduled without an IMF programme.

INVITATION FOR MEMORANDA

11. In the light of the above facts, contributors to the debate are advised to direct their minds to the following crucial questions:-

- (a) Does Nigeria need the IMF loan?
- (b) If not, what are the options or alternative solutions to the country's present economic problem?
- (c) If Nigeria needs the IMF loan, what are the likely economic, social or political consequences or implications of the adoption of the IMF's structural adjustment programme?
- (d) What are the possible options for dealing with the problems represented by the outstanding areas of disagreement between Nigeria and the Fund which Nigeria could put forward with a view to reaching accommodation with the Fund?

12. The Committee plans to organize hearings in five centres in the country on papers prepared by experts. These centres are Lagos, Ibadan, Enugu, Jos and Kaduna. The dates for these hearings will be announced later. Meanwhile, the Committee appeals to Nigerians to prepare Papers which they would be called upon to present to the Committee at the nearest centre to their places of residence. Such Papers should be addressed to:-

**The Secretary,
Presidential Committee on IMF Loan,
Federal Ministry of Finance,
Federal Secretariat (Phase I),
(Room 1266), Ikoyi — Lagos.
Tel: 681883**

The Papers should be submitted in 10 copies and should reach the Secretary not later than 18th October, 1985.

***Signed: R.N. EZEIFE,
Secretary,
Presidential Committee on IMF Loan,
Federal Ministry of Finance,
Lagos.***

28th September, 1985.

/8309

CSO: 3400/306

NIGERIA

BATTALION EXPRESSES NEGATIVE OPINION ON IMF LOAN

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 15 Oct 85 pp 1, 17

[Text] Officers and men of the 35 amphibious battalion of the Nigerian Army, Calabar, have expressed their opposition to Nigeria taking an IMF loan.

They expressed their views in Calabar in response to a question from the General Officer Commanding (GOC), 82nd division, Brig. Oladipo Diya, who had sought to know if they supported the country taking the loan.

Brig. Diya's question followed a plea by a staff sergeant, Ganiyu Lawal, that members of the battalion be allowed to express their views on the proposed loan.

They all responded with a deafening "No" when the GOC asked them whether Nigeria should take the loan.

"Do you know what it means? It means more belt-tightening. That is why you must be prepared to make sacrifices," Brig. Diya said.

The 82d division GOC said that he had directed the senior officers to embark on an enlightenment of the soldiers on the IMF issue.

Brig. Diya told them that "A lot of sacrifices will be required from you" during the 15-month economic emergency declared by President Babangida.

"We should all be prepared so that whatever comes, we have to be ready for it," he told the soldiers.

In Owerri, a lecturer at the Alvan Ikoku College of Education, Dr. Ulonma, Nwigwe, called on the Federal Government to apply caution on the IMF loan issue.

In an address to the Nigerian Union of Teachers (NUT) women leaders' seminar which opened there on Thursday, Dr. Nwigwe urged the Federal Government to examine carefully the question of the loan to ensure that Nigerians were not thrown into "perpetual misery."

She noted that a major of nations which had looked up to the IMF for solace ended up the worse for it, adding that "government will not have any excuse if anything goes wrong, as it had been sufficiently alerted of the possible dangers consequent on the loan."

Dr. Nwigwe also called on all Nigerian women to help Nigeria find its feet by vigilantly monitoring all national issues, with a view to contributing effectively to the debate on such matters.

And in Nsukka, the head of department of economics, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Dr. Apia Okorafor, said that living standards would worsen further if the country took the IMF loan.

Dr. Okorafor said that the "three known pre-conditions for taking the loan were too harsh and would not offer anything good to the Nigerian citizenry."

He said that devaluing the currency held few benefits for Nigeria since imports would be costlier and exports cheaper and, "we do not even have much to export."

He said that even if the country had much to export, such exports would still be dependent on how much was imported, since most of Nigeria's industries depended on imported raw materials and machinery.

Another report from Enugu said that the secretary of the Enugu

branch of the Nigerian Institute of Bankers (NIB), Mr. Jerome Ewulu, has suggested that Nigeria reject the IMF loan, and instead institute economic policy reforms.

Mr. Ewulu said that the country should "increase the inflow of investment from abroad by allowing foreign investors to send home certain agreed amounts of profits from their investment, which he said would in turn encourage more foreign investment."

Also, he continued, Nigeria should adopt a management policy stressing greater "financial discipline" by closing loopholes for corrupt practices and by "fully commercialising government parastatals."

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CSO: 3400/306

SIERRA LEONE

PORT AUTHORITY ANNOUNCES MASSIVE LAY-OFFS

Kano THE TRIUMPH in English 17 Oct 85 p 9

[Text]

SIERRA Leone's debt-ridden ports Authority has sacked 1,340 workers from managers to clerks, General Manager, W.M. Melling said in Freetown on Tuesday.

He told newsmen that the dismissed employees were paid around 84,000 dollars (about M76,000) in benefits, adding that some of the remaining 1,800 workers could be sacked in the next two months.

Mr. Melling said that the dismissals were necessitated by the authority's rising debt.

Sierra Leone's ports Authority is run by the British-owned Company, Warportman International.

Meanwhile prices of petrol and petroleum products in Zambia were doubled Tuesday, the Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation announced in Lusaka.

Premium Petrol now costs 56 cents (about 50k) a litre, up from 28 cents (about 25k). Regular petrol has gone up from 26 cents (about 23k) to 51 cents (about 46k), and diesel from 18 cents (about 16k to 35 cents (about 32k).

The increases were caused mainly by last week's devaluation of the Zambian Kwacha which is now pegged at 5.01 to the U.S. Dollar, down from an official rate of about 2.30 to the dollar.

This has greatly increased the cost of importing crude oil for processing at Zambia's local indigenous oil refinery.

The devaluation has also caused air fares to more than double. More price rises are in store for Zambians as the higher cost of imports begins to bite.

SOUTH AFRICA

NATION'S FALLING FORTUNES IN REGIONAL, FOREIGN POLICIES TRACED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 20 Oct 85 p 29

[Article by John Barratt and Bryan Bench]

[Text]

IN JUNE 1984 a sense of euphoria pervaded South Africa's white community. Mr P W Botha that month became the first South African Prime Minister since General Smuts to engage in high-level discussions with the leaders of several important West European states in their own capitals.

His European visit had been made possible by the achievement of the Lusaka Agreement with Angola and the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique, as well as by his advocacy of domestic political reform.

Western governments reacted positively to these initiatives and in particular they interpreted the acceptance of the new Constitution by whites as a "step in the right direction".

South Africa was perceived as moving away from apartheid and a political system based on colour. In other words, great expectations were aroused that a peaceful evolutionary process of reform was possible in South Africa, which would lead towards an acceptable democratic and stable political system.

Likewise, it appeared that the Government was seeking new ways of promoting stability and co-operation in the Southern African region, in place of its former policies of destabilising its neighbours.

A year later, the contrast in international perceptions of South Africa is stark!

The negative perceptions of the Government's domestic policies are now worse than they were before reform got under way, and allegations are again rife that South Africa's regional policy is basically still one of keeping its neighbours unstable.

This contrast has been glaringly apparent in the aftermath of President Botha's August 15 speech, including the mild rash of sanctions which has broken out, leading to the current meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government, where one of our major trading partners is under severe pressure and where a compromise package of sanctions is likely to be accepted.

What has happened to cause such a decline in the Government's international fortunes in such a relatively short period of time — a decline which has inevitably affected the fortunes of the country as a whole?

This dramatic change can be seen in terms of a succession of events, beginning with the August 1984 elections for the coloured and Asian Houses of Parliament.

The intense black opposition, articulated mainly by the UDF, but also by Inkatha, and the low polls in both elections raised widespread doubts abroad and in South Africa about the viability of the new constitutional system.

Then followed the debacle of the Durban Six and the Coventry Four, which negatively affected the Government's credibility both domestically and internationally.

The Government's response to spreading urban township unrest from September and particularly the arrest of black trade union leaders in early November aroused strong reaction internationally and from South Africa's private sector.

It was at this point that the intense American attention to South Africa began, as November also witnessed the re-election of President Reagan, the beginning of the Free South Africa Movement and the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu.

Thus, by the end of 1984, in a short period of six months, the great expectations had been dashed and South Africa was faced with a combined domestic/international crisis which was by now clearly also negatively affecting the economy.

Worse was to come in 1985. Although a positive reform speech by the State President at the opening of Parliament in January and an indication that further legislative reform would take place during the parliamentary session, temporarily ameliorated international criticism, attention was again focused on the spreading unrest by the Langa shootings in March.

Extensive and sustained foreign media coverage of violence in South Africa has undoubtedly caused misleading perceptions overseas of the situation as a whole.

At the same time the South African media have chosen or been forced to go to the other extreme and protect the white community from full exposure to what is happening in the townships.

Thus a wide gap in perceptions has developed between overseas critics and South African whites who cannot understand the growing international reaction to events here and, more seriously are mostly unaware of the depth of anger among our own black communities.

The declaration of a state of emergency in various areas of the country in July and the entry of the army into the townships, with widescale detentions and arrests, reinforced the impression abroad that South Africa was in a state of near revolution.

In this highly volatile situation Western governments came under increasing pressure within their own countries to take punitive action.

No major Western government wanted to embark on sanctions and they looked to the South African Government to take concrete steps on its own chosen reform path, in order to defuse the situation.

Thus expectations were again aroused that the State President would use the opportunity of his Durban speech on August 15 to announce such positive steps.

While there have been various explanations of what went wrong, there can be little doubt that expectations were at least encouraged by government sources.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha's discussions in Vienna, not long before the Durban speech, led President Reagan's Security Adviser to believe the speech would have substantive positive content.

In this mood of expectation it received unprece-

ded live television coverage in the US and Europe.

The subsequent sense of disillusionment in Western circles was profound in the extreme, and this marked a crucial turning point towards the adoption of some form of sanctions by almost all Western governments.

Inevitably this had a further detrimental effect on economic relations, reinforcing the downward trend in the value of the rand and precipitating the foreign debt crisis, with the unavoidable "standstill" decision.

As if this sad story of domestic events and international reaction were not enough, one must add that several events in the wider Southern Africa region have also contributed to the dashing of expectations aroused in the first half of 1984.

The discovery of South African security units in Cabinda, the installation of a transitional government in Namibia and the Gaborone raid, demonstrated that the West had misunderstood South Africa's regional policies, and that the expectations of negotiated settlements and regional détente had been misplaced.

Most seriously, the Nkomati Accord, as the centrepiece of a changing regional pattern of relationships, has been threatened with collapse by the revelations of South African violations.

The nature and cause of these violations are disputed but, whatever the truth, there is no doubt about the negative international perceptions, and the effect on the Government's credibility.

In the final analysis, looking back on events over the past year, it seems clear that the different expectations were not soundly based.

Some were founded on wishful thinking, and the Government was unable or unwilling to fulfil them.

But what many whites and most Western governments apparently failed to see was that these expectations were not shared equally, either in South Africa or by our neighbouring states.

The perceptions of the Government's reform initiatives on the part of almost all black leaders were very different from the positive perceptions of most whites.

Likewise, the neighbour governments did not perceive the Lusaka Agreement and the Nkomati Accord in the same light as many South African whites and Western governments.

The Frontline States accepted Nkomati reluctantly and were suspicious of South African motives.

They now believe their suspicions were justified.

The effects of disillusionment and of continued mistrust between South Africa and its neighbours are now being witnessed at the Commonwealth meeting.

The valid arguments of South African spokesmen and of the British Government that South African blacks and the neighbour states will be harmed by sanctions are being undercut by the unwillingness of those very people and governments to oppose the advocates of sanctions.

South Africa's domestic affairs are now more than ever inextricably part of its foreign relations, and vice versa. Gone are the days when we could try to argue that the Government's internal policies were not the business of any outsiders; the facts of the situation dictate otherwise.

Pressures from outside are interlinked with regional and internal developments and they feed each other. It is not a question of being dictated to from outside; South Africans can still, if they have the will, determine the nature and pace of the positive transformation of our society.

But the reasons for the external pressures have to be understood, and we cannot ignore the fact that they are having a disastrous effect on the prospects for the future of all South Africa.

The actions of business leaders indicate that they understand this fully, but one must ask whether the Government and many South African whites yet accept it.

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CSO: 3400/294

SOUTH AFRICA

SUCCESS OF CONVENTION ALLIANCE DOUBTED

Johannesburg THE SOWETAN in English 21 Oct 85 p 6

[Article by: Ameen Akhalwaya In "Focus" column]

[Text] Marriage, say people who have experience about such things, is better the second time around. Well, the Progressive Federal Party and Inkatha must be hoping it will be better the second time around as they spearhead the move for the National Convention Alliance.

The first time around, it was a bit of shambles. That was in 1980.

At the time, the President's Council had come into existence, and the Government was still planning the tricameral Parliament. The PFP and the Labour Party had refused to participate in the PC. Africans were excluded, as they still are.

Late in 1980 a leading Black Sash member started a hush-hush round of meetings a launch a "convention movement" advocating a national convention to formulate a new constitution for the country.

Among those who attended preliminary meetings were Bishop Desmond Tutu, PFP leader Federick van Zyl Slabbert, Inkatha's Dr Oscar Dhlomo and Mr Gibson Thula, Mr Clarence September and Mr Miley Richards of the Labour Party, Mrs Joyce Harris of the Black Sash, Dr Essop Jassat and Mr Cassim Saloojee (then unaffiliated) and Dr Rashid Saloojee of the People's Candidates in Lenasia.

Meetings

The Azanian People's Organisation and the Natal Indian Congress were invited, but didn't attend. Dr Nthato Motlana of the Soweto Civic Association was also said to have attended a meeting, but he strongly denied it.

According to a working paper presented at a preliminary meeting in Johannesburg in November, 1980, the goal of the convention movement would be to demonstrate, on as wide a basis as possible, grassroots support for the idea of a national convention at which a new and acceptable constitution could be negotiated.

The idea was that it had to be a public demonstration of the ability of various organisations which might differ -- and even be antagonistic towards one another -- to rally together and mobilise grassroots support for a convention movement.

No pre-conditions were to be set for the convention, for example on the question of first releasing politicians from jail. "The overriding issue of the convention should be consensus."

One suggestion in the working paper was that a countrywide registration campaign be launched. A person wishing to join would sign a pledge: "I am a citizen of this land. I want peace with justice. Although we may differ, I believe in negotiations."

This, it was hoped, would demonstrate that citizenship was non-negotiable in a new constitution, that no constitution could be unilaterally imposed, and show the willingness of people to talk if genuine negotiations could come about at a convention.

Unfortunately for the organisers, Azapo wanted no truck with the PFP, Labour and Inkatha, or with any white-initiated movement. And one disgruntled senior Labour member, who was angry about statements attributed to Inkatha about the coloured and Indian educational boycotts that year, wanted the whole thing exposed.

On December 30, 1980, the Rand Daily Mail published an article about the movement. Azapo immediately rejected such a movement as "a bankrupt idea" and a "gimmick".

Others who were against participation in government-created political institutions said they had strong reservations about working with the PFP, Labour and Inkatha.

Strategy

Dr Slabbert said: "The less the likelihood of starting such a movement is exposed in public, the greater the likelihood that it will succeed."

It didn't. The Labour Party leader and Cabinet Minister, the Rev Allen Hendrickse, said last week: "It did not last a year because of the differences in strategy."

The differences in strategy didn't of course deter Labour from being a member of the South African Black Alliance led by Chief Mongosuthu Buthelezi. Nor has it deterred Mr Hendrickse from joining the Natdominated Cabinet.

Now Labour and the Black Alliance have parted company because of Labour's participation in the tricameral parliament and Inkatha's opposition to it. All the same, there is not that much strategic difference between Inkatha, Labour and the PFP, nor much difference about their calls for a national convention.

Mr Hendrickse has described the proposed National Convention Movement as "still-born."

Yet, in 1980, he had this to say about the convention movement: "The fact that our conference has taken a decision calling for a convention movement is indicative of the seriousness with which the Labour Party regards the situation."

At its annual conference in Johannesburg last year, Labour adopted this resolution: "Conference gives its blessing to the proposed initiatives of the (party) leadership to unify all opposition groups to discriminatory government. This will serve as complementary to the convention movement."

The major difference today is that Labour is now part of "discriminatory government".

The 1980 version of the movement has been weakened by the fact that Labour has withdrawn from it; the PFP, by its own admission, lost much white support for calling for a "no" vote in the 1983 white referendum; the movement has been strengthened by Inkatha's increased membership; and in Labour's place come some representatives of Big Business.

But ranged against the 1985 version are Azapo, the United Democratic Front (which came into existence in 1983), the growing trade union movement, and significantly, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

The ANC, which originally called for a national convention, now is in favour of a convention only if it is called to hand over power. This means the ANC, PAC and Azapo are now much closer in their thinking on the issue.

Clout

The inclusion of Big Business in the proposed movement is important in the sense that it carries clout with the Government, yet it is doubtful if it can win the support of its black workers through the trade unions.

If the convention movement of 1980 couldn't succeed, in the present climate and with greater politicisation of black people since then, its chances of success look even slimmer.

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CSO: 3400/304

SOUTH AFRICA

PFP PUTS ALLIANCE CASE AT 18 REEF MEETINGS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 16 Oct 85 p 9

[Text]

The series of meetings which the Progressive Federal Party held on the Reef yesterday was no "Nat-bashing exercise" but an attempt to present an alternative for rescuing South Africa. Mr Rick Valente, PFP town councillor in Sandton, said yesterday.

"We are no longer talking merely as an opposition party. Things have gone beyond that. The country is facing a crisis which is unparalleled in history," he said.

Mr Valente addressed one of 18 meetings on the Reef yesterday arranged by the PFP as a matter of urgency.

Mr David Woolf, the party's publicity chairman and a member of the Southern Transvaal regional executive, said all the meetings were well attended.

"It is significant that searching questions were asked by members of the public. It is quite obvious there is a strong feeling among voters that there should be reform, that the Government should take steps to quell the unrest in the townships and consult black leaders, and that change is inevitable for South Africa," said Mr Woolf.

Mr Valente told a Sandown meeting that the present state of affairs in South Africa was criticism enough of the Government's policies.

"Black areas are literally aflame, the economy is shattered and the Government's external and internal credibility are in pieces."

The only solution was the Convention Alliance, he said.

"If the alliance succeeds, South Africa might have a future. If not, there will not be much hope left."

"A convention must be held to draw up a new constitution which provides for full, equal citizenship, the sharing of power by all South Africa's citizens and equal economic opportunities," Mr Valente said.

Mr Harry Schwarz MP, PFP finance spokesman, told a meeting in Yeoville that the Progressive Federal Party's alternatives were to establish a forum for discussion among all moderates who rejected violence, and to promote economic growth and employment.

"The forces against us in South Africa who do not want reform will not cease to act. Their fight is no longer for the removal of discrimination, it is now for political power," Mr Schwarz told members of his Yeoville constituency.

Mr Schwarz said radicals were thriving on the increasing cycle of violence and that, if this were allowed to continue, a new society might emerge which was worse than apartheid.

"Moderate forces must therefore stand together," he said.

In Lyndhurst the PFP MPC for Houghton, Mrs Irene Menell, called for an end to the state of emergency and said political change was being "disastrously" handled by the Government.

The Government had to create the climate for structures to establish a legitimate leadership in the country, and whites would have to "bite the bullet" and accept majority rule.

She also called for the release of political detainees and the unbanning of the African National Congress, saying this would force that organisation to sell itself in the political marketplace instead of doing exactly what it wanted without being held accountable to its own community.

At the Bedfordview Civic Centre, the chairman of the Edenvale branch of the PFP, Mr Graham Gersbach, said that, in the event of a national convention being called, the PFP would oppose the participation of political groups which advocated the use of violence or subversion.

Mr Gersbach said his party was firmly opposed to violence as a means for change.

Mr Douglas Gibson MPC, leader of the PFP in the Transvaal, told a meeting in the city centre that the National Party Government had led South Africa into a cul-de-sac. It was time the reform process was accelerated and a government truly

representative of all the people in South Africa elected.

At a meeting in Parkview, Mr Sam Moss MPC, leader of the PFP in the Johannesburg municipal caucus, addressed the issue of reform.

He pointed out that there was repression on the one hand and revolution on the other, and that the PFP's plans for a Convention Alliance would enable rational people to sit at the conference table and work out a solution.

Mr John Simpson said in Springs that the Convention Alliance movement had been established due to the "obvious inability of the Government to come to grips with the realities of the South African political scene.

"The Government's obsession with apartheid is the primary cause of the current unrest.

"The efforts by the police and the army will in the main just further polarise the rift in our society.

"What is needed is to involve all people in this country to formulate a new constitution in which all will have equal citizenship in one country."

Mr Peter Soal, PFP MP for Johannesburg North, said at a meeting in Rosebank that South Africa was in the biggest mess the National Party had ever got the country into.

"Many of South Africa's towns have become mini-Beirut. The whites live out an idyllic existence, while blacks live in conditions of poverty and squalor in a state of near siege," he said.

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CSO: 3400/294

SOUTH AFRICA

SASJ PRESIDENT SAYS NATION'S IMAGE DAMAGED BY UNREST, NOT PRESS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 16 Oct 85 p 9

[Text]

"If South Africa's image overseas is being damaged, it is because of the upheaval in the townships and not because the Press is reporting it. To improve the image, eliminate the unrest, don't control newsmen."

This was said by the president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, Mr David Allen, in a statement yesterday.

The society was reacting to recent statements by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, who said the Government was considering introducing measures that would permit only "bona fide" local and foreign journalists to cover unrest.

The SASJ believed such measures, if introduced, would be an effective "banning" of people working outside the domain of State-sanctioned journalism and would hinder their efforts to earn a living.

FREELANCE JOURNALISTS

Such proposed measures would have a profound effect on many foreign newsmen working in South Africa, as well as the large contingent of local freelance journalists and the staffs of many smaller newspapers who were not members of the Newspaper Press Union and therefore not signatories to the Police-Press agreement.

"Mr le Grange levels serious allegations against representatives of the Press and TV which cast considerable doubt on their honesty and integrity," Mr Allen said.

"But the way Mr le Grange has gone about his latest effort to make life as difficult as possible for media people gives rise to serious suspicion regarding his motives.

"If he has the evidence to support his accusations of dishonesty, why does he couch his claims in such vague generalisations? And if what these newsmen are alleged to be up to is so serious as to warrant official intervention, why does he not take the matter to court?

"Any system of 'officially approving' journalists serves no one's interests. It destroys the nation's credibility, it robs the citizen of his right to be fully informed, and, worst of all, it undermines the news media's first duty: to report the truth."

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SOUTH AFRICA

REPORTER DESCRIBES MAYHEM IN JOHANNESBURG

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 21 Oct 85 p 4

[Article by Nkopane Makobane]

[Text]

I have covered riot situations in most black townships, but when Johannesburg exploded in front of my eyes the excitement, the emotion, the sheer incredibility of the situation was stunning.

I have seen and heard rampaging mobs screaming the popular "war cry" (siyayinyova), but have never seen anything like this before, right in the centre of the city.

What I am about to describe happened last Friday in Johannesburg and to use another scribe's words, "Soweto had literally come to Johannesburg".

A lunch-hour prayer service for Benjamin Moloise, the African National Congress mil-

itant, who was hanged that day at dawn, had just ended when hundreds of mourners filed out of Khotso House in De Villiers Street to be met by a contingent of policemen waiting outside.

Some of the youths started chanting "freedom" songs, indirectly or directly, taunting the policemen. The youths were holding their fists high. Two of them were holding a banner.

A shortwhile thereafter, police charged at the crowd using dogs and sjamboks and several people were arrested while others fled. They regrouped at the corners of Wanderers and King George streets.

What infuriated the mourners more, and scores of bystanders who had been drawn

by curiosity, were residents of flats opposite Khotso House who threw tomatoes and other objects at the crowd below.

Hell broke loose, as some youths retaliated with anything they could get hold of, bottles, stones and pieces of concrete. I never thought there were stones in town, but on that day I saw them.

A saw a young white man sitting on the balcony being hit with an object on the forehead and falling into the inside of flat. Many other onlookers on the balconies retreated into their flats as missiles rained on their windows.

While this was happening, policemen with dogs kept on chasing crowds that ran towards Noord,

Plein, Wanderers and King George streets. The crowd started mingling with people from work and idlers who started smashing shop windows and looting.

In the process, several white passersby became targets of the violent mobs. Elderly white women and several young white men were assaulted and robbed.

At one stage, a man suspected to be an informer was attacked and he avoided serious injury by running into a police car. The man had earlier been active during the service and sang freedom songs. After the service, during confrontations with the police, he was seen talking to them and this angered some of the people.

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SOUTH AFRICA

BLACKS DIVIDED ON WHETHER ANC SHOULD TALK TO GOVERNMENT

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 17 Oct 85 p 9

[Article by Mandla Ndlazi]

[Text]

A snap survey has shown that, while some people were for the African National Congress talking to the Government, some felt time had run out for a peaceful settlement.

Those who are for a peaceful settlement said the government should not lay down conditions before talking to the ANC. Those who think that time has run out for such talks did not mince their words.

Mr Mandla Makuselane of Jabulani, Soweto, said talking to the government now "is a futile exercise." He said the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) gave the authorities enough time to negotiate for a peaceful settlement in the past. "Now that time is past," he said.

Mr Makuselane said the white businessmen who recently held talks with the ANC in Lusaka were "a bunch of capitalists who are trying to protect their investments."

He said the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) was not different from the present rulers. "They sing the same song," said Mr Makuselane.

Mr Steven Mosoeke said time for peaceful talks is over. "Our political organisations have pleaded too long for a peaceful settlement, and now they have no alternative," said Mr Mosoeke.

Leaders

Another man said the ANC "will be wasting its time by talking to the government at this late hour."

Miss Magauta Molefe said the government should first release all the detained leaders and allow

those in exile to return before thinking of negotiating a settlement with the blacks.

"ANC talks with the white businessmen and members of the PFP were childish. We want to hold the bull by its horns, and the bull is the government," said Miss Molefe.

Mr Josiah Modise of Meadowlands said, in the absence of recognised leaders, the government should talk to Dr Nthato Motlana and "not to stooges like Kunene and Mahuhushi."

Mr Modise added, "I am of the opinion that it is never too late for peaceful talks, the only issue between the government and the ANC is who will condescend and start."

SOUTH AFRICA

INCREASING NUMBER OF WHITES SEEK MEETING WITH ANC

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 21 Oct 85 p 11

[Text]

LUSAKA: Suddenly the telephone and telex lines to the African National Congress' offices have become some of the busiest in the Zambian capital.

An increasing number of white South Africans are trying to contact the ANC for meetings.

Although the ANC has not backed off its publicly-stated determination to intensify the "armed struggle", the dominant theme today is dialogue and discussion, the identifying of interests and the need to eliminate misconceptions and misunderstandings.

Clearly, dialogue with the ANC, despite the gulf that must be bridged between the organisation and South

Africa's white establishment, has captured the South African imagination.

Within the ANC there is buoyancy.

In an interview, Simon Makana, a member of the ANC executive, said the dialogue was "good" because it was the duty of all South Africans to help solve their country's problems.

"We cannot pretend nothing is happening."

Asked whether there had been an increase in the number of white South Africans seeking contact and dialogue with the ANC, Mr Makana conceded:

"There have been many, many more contacts than those that have been made public. I think the tempo is

increasing and I think it will increase further."

He declined to say who had contacted the ANC, but he said that among those who had done so were students, churchmen, journalists and individual businessmen.

"I think there has been some melting on both sides. This is something we welcome. We think it is a healthy trend. We must talk to one another."

If the Stellenbosch University Students had been allowed their passports to travel to Zambia, they would have met a delegation of leaders of the ANC Youth Section led by a young man who uses the name Andrew Mkhize.

The ANC Youth Section is a political generation born largely out of the fires of Soweto in 1976 and steeped in conspiracy.

In this respect, its members differ from the Tambores, Mandelas and Sisulus who, between 1942 and 1944, formed what was known as the ANC Youth League. Where that generation was essentially public, the ANC youth of today are involved in clandestine methods.

The youth Mkhize's 15-member secretariat leads are referred to within the ANC as the "young lions" because of their reputation for fearlessness and there appears to be a good deal of respect for them among the older section of the ANC leadership.

SOUTH AFRICA

DR WENDY ORR DISCUSSES DETENTION CONDITIONS

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 18-24 Oct 85 p 4

[Report of interview with Dr Wendy Orr, by Patrick Laurence, date and place not given]

[Text]

WENDY ORR, the young district surgeon whose affidavit detailing evidence of police assault on detainees made her the focus of national and international attention, is an unlikely heroine.

An attractive woman of 25, Orr talks in bursts, punctuating the rapid outflow of her words with a slightly nervous, almost self-deprecatory, laugh.

She is unpretentious and embarrassed by public interest in her.

But her 35-page sworn statement was cardinal to an unprecedented decision by the Supreme Court granting an interim order restraining police from assaulting detainees in two prisons and all future detainees in two magisterial districts in the Eastern Cape.

Dressed in a blue and white striped dress, with matching white earrings and shoes, she was clearly uncomfortable talking about herself during an interview in the home of her father, the Reverend Robert Orr, a Presbyterian minister.

But she was too polite to refuse to reply to questions.

No, she said, religion was not an important factor in her life: she had gone to church while studying medicine at the University of Cape Town, but lately she had begun to question some of the tenets of Christianity.

"But," she added hastily, "I certainly believe in God. I am not an atheist or agnostic."

Her religious upbringing, however, if not religion per se, was a major factor in her decision to testify in the successful application to the Supreme Court for an interim order restraining police from assaulting detainees.

As she observed of her background: "We were brought up in an atmosphere of deep social concern. Medicine is a caring sort of profession."

Within months of starting work as a junior district surgeon in Port Elizabeth at the beginning of this year after completing her housemanship, she was plunged into the centre of South Africa's increasingly bloody conflict.

She was one of the state doctors who conducted post mortems on the 20 blacks who were gunned down by police in the shooting at Langa near Port Elizabeth on March 21.

She started work as a district surgeon in part payment for a three-year state bursary which helped her complete her medical studies at the University of Cape Town at the end of 1984.

Another consideration, however, influenced her. "I wanted to get away from a teaching hospital, which only offered experience of a elevated specialised sort of medicine," Orr said.

Conducting autopsies after the Langa tragedy led, inevitably, to examination of detainees who were interned at two Port Elizabeth prisons, St Albans and North End, under the State of Emergency which came into operation on July 21.

Recalling her examinations of detainees, she said in her affidavit: "An inordinately large proportion of them complained to me that they had been assaulted by the police. They presented symptoms consistent with their complaints, mostly severe multiple weals, bruising and swelling."

Many South Africans have long suspected that detainees are tortured, but Orr is the first doctor employed by the state to present detailed and comprehensive prima facie evidence of its existence.

Reflecting on why state doctors responsible for the medical care of detainees were disinclined to speak out, Orr said: "A lot of people in government service can't see themselves coping in private practice. They're afraid if they talk out, they will lose their jobs. It's a terrible indictment of the medical profession, but that is the only reason I can think of."

Her comments were made sadly, not judgementally.

Orr described herself as a politically aware person but stressed that she was not a member of any political organisation and had not been while she was a student.

She was, however, a member of a medical student organisation which went into black and coloured townships near Cape Town at night to help the underprivileged residents.

One of four children, Orr spends most of her childhood in Pretoria. Orr recalled of her girlhood: "I was aware that gross injustices were perpetrated. It must have been when I was very young. I grew up aware that some people were treated differently because of the colour of their skin. I knew that it was wrong."

In her final year at school she entered a science olympiad competition and won a trip to London. Black and coloured high school scholars were among the prize winners.

She recalled: "When we were in London I saw that people of different colours can live together." She added with a note of exasperation: "For heaven's sake."

She has since received dozens of letters of support, including one from more than 70 women doctors and para-medics. The same women sent to a letter to the Minister of Law and Order, Louis Le Grange.

Since giving evidence, Orr has been forbidden to examine detainees or to conduct post mortems where police are involved. She is now confined to looking after elderly people in homes for the aged and the sick in childrens' homes and in institutions for handicapped people.

Orr related how she had received a telephone call from the regional director of health telling that she had not been banned from seeing detainees but that it would be "unwise" for her to continue doing so because of her "strained relationship" with the prison authorities.

She laughed as she spoke. But her laughter was an expression of strength, not despair.

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SOUTH AFRICA

DR WENDY ORR'S ACTIVITIES PRAISED AS COURAGEOUS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 18 Oct 85 p 6

[Text]

IT MIGHT be too late for this year's announcement, but Dr Wendy Orr is an obvious choice for next year's shortlist for the Nobel Peace Prize, for the following:

It is not going too far, we believe, to assume that the striking off from the roll of the Steve Biko doctor, Dr Benjamin Tucker, happened in the light of Dr Orr's courageous stand;

The South African Dental and Medical Council needs no special praise for doing the obvious. Dr Tucker had shown himself to be totally unprofessional and unfeeling. He did not have the guts to question some of the allegations made against the police during Steve Biko's interrogation;

Because of Dr Orr a number of timorous doctors employed by the State will now have the courage to reveal some of the dark and sinister things coming to their notice;

The truth about detention without trial had to come out someday. A part of the curtain has been lifted, but we fear there is still a lot to be done;

The Government itself is perhaps not aware that it is besmirching the name of this country, and more pertinently of the police, through the murky rumours that hang over this type of detention;

In the final analysis, the State might believe that the work done by its security organs is desperately important and that it is showing results, never mind the means they use. The truth is that, if these allegations are true, even those policemen who exercise their privilege in such despicable acts, will be damaged. And damaged seriously.

Dr Orr had the courage to risk career and reputation when she went all the way to ventilate certain things that must have offended her professional ethics.

It is surely damaging to the medical profession and the State to assume that there are doctors who, out of fear or the protection of privilege, turn a blind eye to practices that are not only unethical but plain inhuman.

This is why we believe Dr Orr needs a special prize. We are sure that many people will be

happy to hear that somebody at least is trying to right the wrongs happening to detainees.

Most people have been filled with horror about certain allegations made against the Security Police and even some criminal units of the police. We know to be under arrest is not to expect five star treatment. But there are certain limits that those who supervise jailed people must respect.

We do not for a moment believe these things will disappear overnight after Dr Orr's courageous step, and the striking from the roll of Dr Tucker. But the small things help solve pretty monstrous ones in the end.

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SOUTH AFRICA

HENDRICKSE'S STATEMENT ON NATIONAL CONVENTION ALLIANCE CHALLENGED

Durban POST NATAL in English 16-19 Oct 85 p 8

[Article by Ameen Akhalwaya]

[Text]

THE Reverend Allan Hendrickse was either misquoted last week, or his memory may have deserted him. Or perhaps my memory has deserted me.

Last week, the Labour Party leader and Cabinet Minister attacked the proposed National Convention Alliance, describing it as "still-born". Mr Hendrickse was quoted as saying that a convention alliance had been proposed at the Labour Party congress in December 1980 by Mrs Joyce Harris of the Black Sash.

The congress, he reportedly said, had been attended by representatives of the Labour Party, Progressive Federal Party, Black Sash, Inkatha, Transvaal Indian Congress and "the black consciousness movement".

For one thing, the TIC did not exist then. It was revived only in 1983. "The black consciousness movement" does not exist in South Africa.

At the time, the only two black consciousness organisations existing were Azapo and the Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasa).

I was present at the 1980 Labour congress — in my capacity as political reporter of the *Rand Daily Mail*. I did not see any "TIC" or "BCM" members there.

Perhaps Mr Hendrickse was mistaking it for earlier exploratory meetings about a convention movement. At those meetings, Dr Essop Jassat and Mr Cassim Salojee, then unaffiliated, Dr Rashid Salojee, then leader of

the People's Candidates group in Lenasia, and Bishop Desmond Tutu, were present.

This is how I recall the events leading to the proposed convention in 1980.

It was November of that year, and a leading Labour Party member, who was strongly opposed to Inkatha because of statements attributed to it during the coloured and Indian school boycotts, told me about the proposed convention movement.

About the same time, leading Azapo officials said they had been approached to join exploratory talks, but because Inkatha, the Progressive Federal Party and the Labour Party were participating, they wanted nothing to do with it. They were also opposed to supporting any white initiative.

The story wasn't written then. Along with other Mwasa members, I was on strike at the time. When the strike ended shortly before Christmas, I

started working on the story again. And soon it was confirmed.

The inspiration behind the movement was the Black Sash. It was at the time the President's Council had been created and the Government was still planning the tricameral parliament.

All the groups present at the exploratory talks, including the PFP and Labour Party, shunned the President's Council.

Among others who attended the preliminary meetings were Dr Van Zyl Slabbert of the PFP, Inkatha's Dr Oscar Dhlomo and Mr Gibson Thula, Mr Clarence September and Mr Miley Richards of the Labour Party and Mr Yellan Chinsamy of the Reform Party.

Azapo and the Natal Indian Congress refused to attend.

According to a working paper presented at a preliminary meeting in Johannesburg in November 1980, the goal of the convention movement would be to demonstrate, on as wide a

basis as possible, grassroots support for the idea of holding a national convention at which a new and acceptable constitution would be negotiated.

In my report in the *Rand Daily Mail* of December 30, 1980, in which the moves towards a convention movement were revealed, I wrote: "It is understood that some representatives, although advocating the idea of a national convention, expressed serious reservations about being part of a movement in which organisations participating in Government-created institutions are represented".

This, of course, was a reference to the views of Azapo, Dr Jassat, Dr Saloojee, Mr Saloojee and Bishop Tutu, as well as Dr Nthato Motlana of the Soweto Civic Association who had been sounded out about the next meeting, scheduled for March 1981.

When the story broke, some members of the PFP and the Black Sash were angered. And no wonder. Azapo immediately rejected such a movement as "a bankrupt idea" and a "gimmick". So did others who were opposed to

working with organisations represented in approved political institutions.

Dr Slabbert said the less the possibility of starting such a movement was explored in public, "the greater the likelihood that it will succeed". He added that he was waiting to hear about further exploratory talks. "I am quite willing to explore the degree of support for the idea".

The idea didn't get much support, judging from the fact that the movement didn't really get off the ground.

Last week, Mr Hendrickse said: "It did not last a year because of the differences in strategy."

Which is an odd thing to say, because in 1980, the Labour Party was still an enthusiastic member of the SA Black Alliance, headed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as was the Reform Party under Mr Chinsamy, although they had strategic differences.

The Labour Party and the Black Alliance parted company only after the Labour Party decided to participate in the new tricameral parliament, saying it

was using the new system as a strategy.

In that, the Labour Party now has more in common with the PFP, which also says it is using the new Parliament to bring about change, than with the National Party.

Yet, Mr Hendrickse is a member of the National Party-dominated Cabinet, and in theory, Labourites and the Nats are using the same means to a different end.

The Nats are against a national convention, and that may be the real reason why Mr Hendrickse is having a go at the proposed national convention alliance.

Now the new alliance is coming together a second time around.

For Mr Hendrickse, it may be different the second time around with a new partner.

For the proposed convention alliance, it may not be much different.

Although Inkatha's membership has increased substantially since 1980, the PFP, by its own admission, lost much support during the referendum campaign. The second time around, it has managed

to get the support of some big businessmen, who may carry a lot of clout with the Government, but nevertheless can't expect much support from their black workers.

For opponents of the alliance, the second time around might be much easier. Since the 1980 attempt, the United Democratic Front has come on to the scene, and so has the National Forum Committee.

More significantly, the ANC has now rejected a national convention unless it is to hand over power. In that regard, the ANC, PAC and Azapo have moved much closer in their thinking.

Add to that the support for the growing trade union movement and for the UDF, it is even more likely that the new alliance will be still-born.

In that case, Mr Hendrickse may not be far off the mark.

Except that when a national convention does come about — whether on the ANC/PAC/Azapo/UDF basis or that of the National Convention Alliance — Mr Hendrickse may not be invited.

SOUTH AFRICA

WOMAN FOR PEACE SURVEY ..

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 15 Oct 85 p 14

[Article by Gary van Staden]

[Text]

The Government is to blame for the unrest and there is profound anger over the presence of the SA Defence Force in the townships — and that is the majority opinion of township residents themselves according to a recent survey.

Woman for Peace, a Houghton based organisation, conducted the survey during August of this year and the findings are based on a sample of 440 replies to survey questionnaires.

The major findings of the survey were:

- A total opposition to apartheid.
- Strong resentment over black exclusion from Government.
- The Government is to blame for the current unrest.
- A profound anger over the presence of the army in black townships.
- Police actions under the state of emergency were condemned.
- Inferior and unequal education continues to be a major grievance.
- A strong call for influx control to be abolished.

Other findings included a clear call for equal rights, for detention without trial to be abolished and a condemnation of the lack of communication between black and white leaders.

As regards the major findings respondents were asked to state in their own words what they believed to be the major cause of the township unrest. The results of the open-ended question produced 44 percent who blamed apartheid and discriminatory laws, while 31 percent mentioned inferior education.

Other large percentages went to "oppressive Government policies" (28) and the presence of the army and police in the townships (20).

Other causes listed by respondents were (percentage in brackets); lack of equal rights (17); unemployment (15); economic situation and wage discrimination (12); poor housing (10); and influx control (6).

On the issue of the army in the townships a massive 90 percent said they opposed to the SADF presence while 7 percent said they were in favour. There was less opposition to the police force but the feeling of 76 percent of the respondents was that its presence was too strong. Some 19 percent said they were in favour of such a presence.

In a related question 89 percent of respondents said they felt threatened by the army and 77 percent felt the same about the police. Respectively,

7 percent and 16 percent said they felt protected.

Responses to a somewhat loaded question, "Would you like equal education?" produced a predictable 91 percent "yes" answer. As regards compulsory education the "yes" response was a surprisingly low 66 percent.

There was strong support for being given the opportunity to build a home on a serviced site as a means to easing the overcrowding in townships.

For a survey which claims validity for all the townships on the Rand the respondent sample seems to be extremely small, although it was fairly evenly distributed among the various townships.

For example, the survey respondents living in West Rand townships — mainly Soweto — numbered about 120 people. It would seem to be too small a base on which to make inductive assumptions for over 1,5 million.

In addition the survey organisers say that "only" 14 percent of the respondents were members of Women for Peace. "Only" 14 percent is unacceptably high if the sample itself is to have any validity.

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SOUTH AFRICA

BOPHUTHATSWANA DROPS 'NO SQUATTING' CHARGES

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 18-24 Oct 84 p 4

[Text]

THE Moretele Magistrate's Court in Bophuthatswana has dropped its so-called "squatting" charges against 200 residents of Bosplaas.

And a spokesman for the Moretele Court said the charges were dropped last Friday on instructions from the homeland's Attorney-General, J J Smit.

"The President (Lucas Mangope) instructed me to drop the charges as the matter would be solved outside court on a political basis," Smit said.

It is understood that the homeland authorities decided to drop the charges after being confronted with a bulky dossier of alleged corruption and fraudulent activities by Bophuthatswana local authorities in the region.

Smit confirmed that the homeland police are investigating allegations.

Despite being declared "illegals", the defendants continued paying homeland taxes.

In some cases they were sold membership in the ruling Bophuthatswana Democratic Party in exchange for a promise of citizenship, which never materialised.

The press officer in the President's Office, J Mokgajane, said he was unaware charges had been withdrawn.

The withdrawal of the charges last Friday comes 18 months and seven court appearances after the Bosplaas residents were first arrested under the amended Land Control Act of August 1983.

Although the withdrawal of the charges may be seen in legal circles as a major victory, it brings little relief to those affected.

While the case was being heard, the defendants were re-arrested, harassed and intimidated, according to defence counsel.

One of the defendants claims that police said to him while he was being assaulted: "We are doing this to teach other people what will happen to them if they get lawyers."

Advocate Paul Shapiro complained in court that police harassment and intimidation had made it impossible for him to trace and interview his clients and witnesses.

"Those on bail, in spite of appeals in court, were rearrested, harassed and intimidated. Only under extreme difficulty were dockets opened against police for assault."

The homeland's campaign against non-Tswanas began immediately after "independence" in 1977 and has gone through three distinct phases:

● For about nine months in 1978, the authorities conducted police raids against non-Tswanas. These raids became so violent that the leaders of the other "homelands", embarrassed by the publicity given to the excesses, sent a delegation to then-Minister Piet Koomhof.

● South African government pressure led to the temporary cessation of these raids, and a less high-profile campaign.

There followed a period where non-Tswanas were denied access to the bureaucracy. Applications for citizenship and residency were turned down, passes were not renewed or given, work seeker permits and other necessary documents were denied.

Bophuthatswana government ministers described these people as a "cancer which had to be cut out".

● Finally, the Bophuthatswana government amended the Land Control Act in such a way as to make it effectively illegal for all but citizens and those with valid residency permits to be resident in the homeland.

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CSO: 3400/291

SOUTH AFRICA

ANNIVERSARY OF BLACK WEDNESDAY REMEMBERED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 18 Oct 85 p 6

[Article by Themba Molefe in 'Focus' column]

[Text]

Tomorrow — the eighth anniversary of Black Wednesday, October 19, 1977 — the world will remember the day when a leaf was torn out of South African history books. It was this day when, with the stroke of the ministerial pen, Black Consciousness, the spirit of black nationalism was decreed dead.

The metaphoric use by journalists of "Black Wednesday" sticks in the mind, for 18 organisations and two black newspapers, The World and The Weekend World, were banned by the then Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger.

That day was the climax to a steady countdown from Soweto June 16, 1976, to the sudden, if monstrous death of Black Consciousness leader, Steve Biko, on September 12, 1977.

Mr Jimmy Kruger thought he had had enough of the united black voice.

The then Prime Minister himself, Mr John Vorster, was caught in the spirit and backed Mr Kruger.

Mr Kruger's words still ring in memory, from the blood curdling "it leaves me cold" to others announcing the death of Black Consciousness.

He said: "The publications and organisations banned had been acted against because investigations showed they endangered the maintenance of public order . . . the Government action was related to sporadic unrest throughout the country since last year (1976 in this case) which had been the work of a small leader group."

Mr Kruger was referring to the Black People's Convention, the South African Students

Organisation, the Union of Black Journalists, others, including the Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of the African People of South Africa (Asseca).

By banning publications he included Pro Veritate, the mouthpiece of The Christian Institute, which he also banned.

By the end of that short day 42 leaders were detained throughout the country.

Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of The World and Weekend World, will remember too vividly, perhaps with anger too, when he was detained shortly after the news broke out.

Together with Mr Aggrey Klaaste, then news editor of Weekend World, he was to spend nearly six months at Modderbee Prison.

In one fell swoop Minister Kruger had said "no" to a united black voice against injustices and eliminated every vestige of black opposition outside the approved Bantustan system. The white laager

was drawn close — to repress black dissension and to defy the world.

There are names which, at the time, would constitute black leadership; people who enhanced the spirit that black was powerful.

These were the people who championed unity at the time when resistance to the system was waged by blacks and for blacks; when white liberals took a back seat.

There was pride when these names were read on the same page — Hlaku Rachidi, the Rev. Drake Tshenkeng, Curtis Nkondo, Fanyana Mazibuko, Aubrey Mokoena, Legau Mathabathe, Ellen Kuzwayo, Dr Nthato Motlana, Dr Mamphela Ramphele, Father Smangalis Mkatshwa, George Wauchope, and others.

Today, eight years on, there is the United Democratic Front, the National Forum and Inkatha — all agreeing to disagree.

History will perhaps record how black unity suffered a mortal blow when the organisations and newspapers were banned. For not too

long after this blow, there emerged a new spirit of divisiveness among blacks.

Today there are these streams of thinking politically, all purportedly fighting the same evil, but sometimes tearing at one another.

This day will be remembered with anguish. It will be seen as the beginning of a new scenario wherein blacks fight blacks. It was the beginning of the end for black unity. Reflective people will certainly wish to ponder on the reasons for this unnecessary division. It will be most important to try and learn from the mistakes of the past.

Eight years later, South Africa bleeds from more wounds. There is death and destruction in the streets of the townships. The monolithic system that runs our lives is moving slowly as a dragon to come to terms with the new age — an age when black children have become the standard bearers of the black man's struggle.

It seems to have ceased to be the battle between adults.

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CSO: 3400/289

SOUTH AFRICA

SADF MEMBERS AWARDED MEDALS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 Oct 85 p 5

[Text]

TWENTY-FOUR members of the South African Defence Force were awarded medals and commendations at the Doornkop military base in Johannesburg yesterday.

Eleven recipients were awarded the Pro Patria Medal for services in connection with the prevention or combating of terrorism.

Other awards were the Good Service Medal (Gold) for 30 years service, the Good Service Medal (Silver) for 20 years service, the Good Service Medal (Bronze) for 10 years service, the Chief of the SADF's Commendation Medal for distinguished service and the Chief of the Army's Commendation.

The officer commanding Witwatersrand Command, Brigadier G H P Murphy, told the recipients that they were being rewarded for their contribution to the development of "the best army in Africa".

He expressed the hope that the awards would inspire the recipients and their colleagues to even greater involvement in South Africa's national objectives, namely the combating of terrorism, the preservation of peace,

and the maintenance of law and order.

The recipients were: Pro Patria: Chaplain P C Kruger (Roodepoort Command), Lt R G Rees Gibbs (Wits Command HQ), Lt C J J Stegman (Wits Command Maintenance Unit), Lt P L Theron (Medics Command, Southern Transvaal), Lt B M Smith (Wits Command HQ), Second Lt C J Kassekman (21 Battalion), Second Lt J J Vlok (21 Battalion), Sgt H H Carlson (Wits Command Workshops), Lance Cpl N R Kew (Wits Command, Pro Unit), Pte G J Botha (Wits Command, Pro Unit), Pte N H Tennant (Wits Command Workshops).

SADF Commendation Medal: Chaplain C J Minnaar (Johannesburg West Command), Maj M G Wade (Wits Command, HQ).

Good Service Medal (Gold): Capt V J du Toit (Wits Command Workshops) Good Service Medal (Silver): Col L de Bruin (Wits Command, HQ), Col B Ginsberg (Wits Command, HQ), Col J H Jansen (Group 18, HQ), Cmdt J J P Muller (Wits Command, HQ), WO1 C M du Ploy (21 Battalion).

Good Service Medal (Bronze): Col J H Jansen (Group 18 HQ), S/Sgt J P J Flattery (Wits Command, HQ), S/Sgt R Jacobs (21 Battalion), Sgt A L Nel (Wits Command Workshops).

Chief of the Army's Commendation: Maj A P D Kotze (Wits Command Workshops), Mrs C J Owen.

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CSO: 3400/332

SOUTH AFRICA

AFRIKAANS THEOLOGIAN SEES BLACK EDUCATION AS SOURCE OF UNREST

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 16 Oct 85 p 9

[Text]

An Afrikaans theologian has called on Christians to stand together and do something about black education in South Africa.

"We all know that the inferior status of black education is a primary source of potential unrest in our country," Professor Pieter de Villiers, head of the C B Powell Bible Centre at Unisa, said yesterday.

He was addressing the sixth birthday meeting of the Bramley Luncheon Club for Men at St Catherine's Anglican Church.

It would be a grave mistake to deduce that the Bible and Christianity had nothing to do with society or events in society, he said.

The central message of the Bible was "to love one another".

"To love one another means that the Christian is deeply involved in his society in a way incisively different to before his conversion. The Gospel changes people, and with them, societies are changed," Professor de Villiers said.

He said that as a part-time minister in Pretoria's coloured township Eersterust, he experienced feelings of despair among even the most dedicated Christian people when, in home after home, they talked about their children.

"How can one listen indifferently to loving, dedicated Christian parents who tell you that their children are being taught by illiterate teachers?" he said.

Professor de Villiers asked if the time had not come to start working on a large-scale private initiative in which major forces from all parts of society could join together.

"We cannot escape the Biblical injunction to be involved in our society and to alleviate suffering. By being constructively and positively involved in restructuring society, we bear a living witness to the faith and hope God has instilled in us through the death and resurrection of His Son," said Professor de Villiers.

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CSO: 3400/288

SOUTH AFRICA

SITUATION IN SOWETAN SCHOOLS BORDERING ON ANARCHY

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 17 Oct 85 p 6

[Article by Nat Diseko in 'Focus' column]

[Text]

TO describe the present schooling situation in Soweto as chaotic is no exaggeration.

These recent weeks have seen the crisis deepening with anarchy ruling supreme as never before.

Since the weekend, three secondary schools have been set alight in Soweto. They are Dr Vilakazi in Zola, Phafogang in Moroka and Lavela in Zola.

At Dr Vilakazi, the whole administration block was destroyed and two rooms were burnt down at Phafogang.

At Lavela, the damage was extensive; the administration block, three classrooms, four offices, library, store-rooms and four centres where specialised subjects like homecraft are taught were destroyed.

Many people see the formation of the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee at the weekend as a glimmer of hope in an otherwise fast deteriorating situation that bodes ill for the future.

On Sunday, parents and pupils met at St Margaret's Church in Diepkloof and formed a committee to negotiate with the authorities on several burning issues.

Chief among these were the presence of the army in the townships and the impending end of year exams. The SPCC has been mandated to press for the withdrawal of the troops from Soweto and for the deferral of the coming exams.

Since the boycott of classes started some five months ago, lessons at most schools went on, however tenuously and then schooling in the proper sense ground to a halt.

It is noteworthy that the boycott of classes intensified after the declaration of the state of emergency in July.

Bands of youths went from school to school disrupting classes. Windows would be smashed while a class was on, teachers threatened with violence and in some cases actually assaulted.

Then the hippos would appear and there would be general confusion, with pupils running helter skelter to avoid tearsmoke.

All this would in the end result in frustration for teachers and pupils alike.

Today it has become common to see little primary school children running back home from school in the morning after their classes had been disrupted.

(At Sunday's SPCC meeting, it was resolved that pre-school and primary schools be allowed to continue running smoothly).

The banning of the Congress of South African Students, Cosas, has resulted in the student movement having no head or tail. Without leadership, the protest movement has become an amorphous mass, with rag-tag groups sprouting all over and assuming leadership.

The general situation is one of uncertainty, frustration and even fear. One school principal put his finger on the dilemma facing teachers.

"I am afraid to go to school because some youths have confronted me and asked me why I kept on going to school when no lessons are going on.

"Some have called me a sell-out to my face. But I am employed and have to report for work. I am in a no-win situation," he said.

Another teacher said he had been instructed

to draw up a question paper for the internal exam but did not know how to go about it because the pupils had been receiving no lessons for some time.

A pupil interviewed said: "We have been told we are going to write exams but we don't know what we are going to write because there have been no classes at our school for some time."

One other teacher likened the regional office of the Det to an ostrich burying its head in the sand. "As far as the regional office is concerned, things are normal at the schools and the children must write exams," he said.

A spokesman for the regional director's office at Booysens said yesterday that no final decision had yet been made concerning the internal exams, but that the final matric exams were to start on October 25.

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CSO: 3400/289

SOUTH AFRICA

WHITES INCREASING AS VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE

Johannesburg THE SOWETAN in English 21 Oct 85 p 6

[Text] The type of violence that has become part of our lives in the townships, and seen by whites only on their colour television screens, came to the streets of Johannesburg with an explosive impact.

If anybody is still convinced that the state of emergency has restored stability, then they must be exceptionally thick headed.

The drama in Johannesburg is played out with horrible regularity in places like Soweto and the Cape Peninsula. Most whites, probably with justification, believed these things were happening in another world.

The average white can be excused for this delusion, the Government, especially the State President's office, cannot.

Whites in the Cape Peninsula have been catching some of the flak. Very few of them, who saw the savage anger that translates itself into mayhem of all sorts, can forget the experience. Several shopkeepers in Johannesburg will never be the same again after Friday's violence.

Shop assistants in one Johannesburg shop tell us how their white employer was paralysed with fear when looters stormed into the place. They say the white kept on whimpering: "What shall we do now? What shall we do now?"

They tactfully reminded her of the times when they asked to be released early as they feared similar acts of violence back home. They claim with some certainty that this was one white person who now knew what was happening in her country.

We say that employer does not know half the story. We blacks, Africans, coloureds and Indians, have to live with this type of hell every other day.

We are not at all puzzled by the inaction, the inability to grasp the enormity of the chaos, by Mr Botha. He had been deluded to think that he was in control. White South Africa must take the blame for this.

In 1984 Mr Botha was acclaimed for diplomacy and leadership. The sentiments were echoed in western capitals, who invited the State President. After all he had successfully managed the Nkomati Accord; he had convincingly held a referendum that supported his tinsel schemes at constitutional development. He was hailed as the biggest thing to happen to South African leadership since General Smuts. It was all illusion; all bogus; a spurious bubble of reform, which has now been effectively pricked.

So South Africa voters and their leaders are mystified. Their little puppets who faithfully echoed the empty dreams are scared to death.

We have said that violence is non-discriminatory. We abhor it in all forms. It is not until the State President and those who voted him to power note that this country is in a virtual state of civil war, that real change, total change, will come about.

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CSO: 3400/304

SOUTH AFRICA

CONCERN ABOUT INCREASING VIOLENCE PERPETRATED BY CHILDREN

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 16 Oct 85 p 4

[Text] Far from getting better, the pervasive violence, the confusion and disruption in schools and the rise in anger from adult blacks, is getting worse.

We are saying this not as a warning but because we are beginning to panic. The desperation is getting beyond human endurance and something, anything should be done to halt this grave situation.

Pupils in the fairly quiet township of Atteridgeville, Pretoria, this week were forced out of classes by children who are not even in their teens. The anger from these children, barely out of their nappies, was caused by the death of a 13-year-old boy in Atteridgeville.

The damage has been done, but we need now at this late hour to act with a measure of urgency. Otherwise the ghastly mess is going to get worse.

What we would like to know is what is happening to the leaders in government? What is the agenda for the future of this country? We tend to wish to believe the rumour that there might be serious bureaucratic sabotage to keep the situation as it is, or even make it worse. If that be the case, what is the object? We need to be told.

We cannot get to grips with this whole sorry business. Parents are beginning to believe the wisdom in some of the reckless things done by their children. Most black adults are not even revolutionary. It is perhaps true that most people are law-abiding and do not wish to see things go on in this helter skelter fashion. But very soon something is going to snap. Then God help us all.

For what it is worth we are glad to see some white parents taking the bull by its horns and meeting the African National Congress. We are naturally impressed by these moves. But seriously, the danger is right here. The danger which white South Africa does not seem aware or impressed by, is right inside the country.

If things are getting worse internally, as they most certainly are, all the conferences with all the organisations inside and outside the country will not halt the mess.

We appeal to white South Africa to pressurise their leaders to cast its eyes on what is happening here and now.

We fear the state of emergency has not solved the problems. We hasten to add this is not attempt to cast aspersions on the police and the army. They certainly tried their best. But without help from people who can sit down and talk, inside South Africa, these units simply increase the tension. Mistakes too, will keep on happening. There will be more deaths on both sides.

South Africa has to grow up before it is too late. We tend always to try and sweep our problems under the carpet with the hope they will somehow solve themselves.

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CSO: 3400/304

SOUTH AFRICA

STUDENT GIVES VIEWS OF STUDENT-ANC MEETING CLAMPDOWN

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 20 Oct 85 p 29

[Article by Anton Steenkamp]

[Text]

IN the past few weeks students at the University of Stellenbosch have succeeded in giving credibility once again to the notion that, on the political terrain, Stellenbosch is the leading Afrikaans university in this country.

What a pity then that the Government has clamped down in such a heavy-handed way on the bona-fide intentions of eight students to have talks with the ANC Youth League.

The initiative to talk to the ANC youth came from a few Stellenbosch students when they learnt of an open invitation to have talks of this kind unconditionally.

What is significant is that neither the students nor the ANC laid down any conditions for talks whatsoever. The agenda was open in the real sense of the word.

The eight students chosen to go were representatives of a wide range of interest groups and political persuasions in Stellenbosch — people in leadership positions on the SRC, the Debating Society, the Church Youth Action (KJA) of the Dutch Reformed Church, the student newspaper Die Matie and the current affairs society (SAAK).

Their political persuasions differed and they did not represent a group unthinkingly critical of the Government.

One goal, however, united this group: the awareness of a need to find a peaceful solution to this country's problems and a deep concern for the future of the country of our birth.

The ANC is known for the path of violence it chose to follow via its military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, after its banning in 1960. (The fact that they had tried to negotiate by peaceful means since 1912 is usually conveniently overlooked.)

By expressing their willingness to enter into dialogue with the ANC Youth, the students did not express condonation for the use of violence. On the contrary, the use of violence would have been condemned by the students in Lusaka where the talks allowed to go ahead.

When the hand of negotiation is extended, only the most insensitive could be prepared to reject it outright. As young Afrikaners, we had hoped to try to secure a better future by talking, rather than shooting.

That hope has now been denied us.

The ANC is not the only relevant political group in South Africa. That is why members of the group have in the past had talks with internal interest groups like Inkatha, Azasom and other student, church and political groups.

The fact remains that the ANC enjoys at least widespread symbolic support inside and outside SA. It is an essential part of this country's future.

By ignoring the ANC, we will not make it disappear.

If one has a sore foot and just carries on walking, pretending it doesn't exist, one should not be surprised if one suddenly finds oneself flat on one's back for no apparent reason.

We have been force-fed propagandistic information about the ANC for more than 20 years. Is it a sin then to gather first-hand information?

How ironic that not only businessmen and the PFP have had talks with the ANC without being stopped, but also newspapermen from Government-supporting newspapers such as *Beeld* and *Die Vaderland*.

When eight hopeful and sincere (albeit slightly idealistic) Stellenbosch students wish to take a step towards meaningful discussions, however, the heavy hand of the Government descends swiftly.

The response to the action of withdrawing the students' passports was astounding. Known Government supporters among the students criticised the step heavily. A motion of support for the proposed talks was carried by 38 votes to 16 in the normally staid and moderate student parliament.

A motion of no confidence in President P W Botha as chancellor of the university was withdrawn only after the rector had an in-camera talk of almost an hour with the members of the student parliament.

On the Ides of March, 1984, the then editor of *Die Matie*, Miss Corinne Oost-

huizen, wrote that the new chancellor of the university was too much of a political figure. She was temporarily suspended from her position.

After 18 months the issue is suddenly in the forefront again — all because the rights of free association and freedom of movement have been denied eight well-meaning students.

The members of the group are still convinced that young Afrikaners should talk to the ANC Youth.

Let us not repeat previous mistakes by driving people to further radicalism and violence by denying them the means of negotiation.

The reformist rhetoric and well-meant moves of the Government are unfortunately belied by foot-in-mouth actions like these.

There are only two roads open for the future of our country — negotiation or confrontation. Why then deny the effort to opt for the former?

The eight students who wanted to go to Lusaka are a far cry from rebellious radicals. What a pity that they should have been denied the chance to plant a seed of hope for a negotiated peaceful future rather than one of escalating violence.

After all, the future is ours.

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CSO: 3400/294

SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY ON TRANSKEI 'POLICE BEHAVIOR AT STUDENT LEADER FUNERAL

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 18-24 Oct 85 p 2

[Article by Patrick Laurence]

[Text]

IF intolerance and fear of the press are signs of an insecure regime, then the Matanzima brothers and their minions do not sleep comfortably in their beds at night.

Security Police in the Matanzimas' fiefdom, the nominally independent state of Transkei, detained the pall-bearers at the funeral this week of the murdered former student leader, Bathwanda Ndondo.

Ndondo was gunned down in broad daylight late last month after he was taken for questioning by people suspected of being police.

The pall-bearers, who were arrested as they deposited the coffin in the hearse in the small Transkei town of Cala, were wearing T-shirts bidding farewell to "Comrade Ndondo."

Similar T-shirts have been worn at the funerals of blacks killed by police in South Africa, a clear sign that rebellion which has swept across South Africa's townships for the past 13 months is seeping into Transkei.

Another indication of that development is the unofficial but politically significant decision by students at K D Matanzima Secondary School in Cala to rename it after African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

At Ndondo's funeral, mourners were ordered to strip by police. Those who were wearing political T-shirts were also detained.

Earlier, heavily armed police manned road blocks at both entrances to Cala, turning away hundreds of people, including local and overseas journalists attempting to attend the funeral. The shaven-headed Transkei Security Police chief, General Leonard Kawe, supervised operations personally.

At the road block closest to the South African side of Cala, a grinning policeman, carrying what looked like an AK-47 rifle, stopped journalists. He ordered them to turn their cars around and leave immediately.

When asked why, he replied, his teeth flashing as he grinned: "We are not obliged to give reasons."

After the start of the funeral some journalists managed to enter the town, only to be ordered to leave immediately by Kawe himself.

The general — who was accompanied by an officer who had served under the notorious former security chief of the neighbouring "independent homeland" of Ciskei, Charles Sebe — said: "You must leave immediately. We don't want foreigners here if there is trouble. We only want Transkeians."

Earlier he had remarked contemptuously after being told by the journalists that they had come to report on the funeral: "Funeral journalists!"

The detained pall bearers at Ndondo's funeral had to be replaced when the hearse arrived at the graveyard.

Ndondo, a former vice-president of the University of Transkei SRC, is a member of the Ntsebeza family, which is well known for its opposition to the regime of the Matanzima brothers in Transkei. His two cousins, Lungisile Ntsebeza and Dumisa Ntsebeza, were detained shortly after he was murdered.

Transkei President Kaiser Matanzima has publicly all but justified the killing of Ndondo. In a speech at Idutywa delivered in Xhosa, Matanzima blamed Ndondo for the explosion which destroyed the fuel depot in the Transkei capital of Umtata in June.

A tape recording of the speech has been smuggled out of Transkei. In it, Matanzima said: "He (Ndondo) is the one who came from Lesotho and exploded a bomb in Umtata ... You will see the communists will be asking what has Ndondo done."

Matanzima's speech has prompted suspicion that his regime offered a murderous variant on the well-worn practice of detention without trial — execution without trial.

After Ndondo's death a murder docket was opened by the Transkei police. His family, who confronted police over the killing at the hospital where he was taken, accused the police of being implicated.

The Chief of the CID in Transkei, General D K Nkalitshana, later confirmed that the alleged involvement of police was being investigated.

The funeral was conducted by a white Anglican priest, Father Edgar Raddock, a relative newcomer to Transkei. He was recruited by friends of Ndondo's when it appeared that local black ministers of religion had been intimidated from conducting the funeral.

In an interview, Transkei Prime Minister and brother of Kaiser Matanzima, George Matanzima, said of police action at the funeral: "They were Security Police and they have the discretion to act as they deem fit. I think they feared the funeral would become a political rally."

On the investigation into the murder of Ndondo, Prime Minister Matanzima, who is Transkei's Minister of Police, said: "When police open a murder docket, I don't interfere unless there are irregularities. As of now there have been no irregularities."

On the detention of Ndondo's cousins — in Xhosa tradition they are regarded as his brothers — Matanzima said: "I can't say why they were detained. But people have been stirring up trouble in Cala. As Minister of Police I try to keep away from investigations ... If I got involved I might end up like Louis Le Grange (South Africa's much criticised Minister of Law and Order)."

But Matanzima has fewer scruples about interfering in church affairs.

When the Roman Catholic church issued a statement condemning the killing of Ndondo and expressing concern about the rough treatment meted out to students, he summoned the bishop and, according to well placed church sources, indirectly threatened him with imprisonment unless he retracted the statement.

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SOUTH AFRICA

BOYCOTTING STUDENTS MOVE FOR 'ALTERNATIVE' EDUCATION

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 18-24 Oct 85 p 7

[Article by Jean Le May]

[Text]

"FREEDOM NOW, Education Later" is the slogan displayed on posters at student demos and spray-painted on walls throughout the peninsula these days.

It makes Carter Ebrahim, Minister of Education (House of Representatives) froth at the mouth, because it has become the rallying symbol of alternative education in the Western Cape.

Although the boycotts started soon after the State of Emergency was declared in July, the issue then was solidarity with the UDF and with detained student leaders (there is no official State of Emergency in the Cape). Soon, however, the basis of protest extended to include "gutter education": alternative education has been around long before the emergency, but organised programmes started in earnest only after July.

So: what is alternative education?

Carter Ebrahim sees it as communist propaganda, pure and simple. He probably bases his view on the fact that many of its protagonists use the work of Brazilian educationist Paulo Freire as a model — and Paulo Freire's books are banned in this country.

Ebrahim Patel, researcher at the SA Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU) at the University of Cape Town, spelled it out from an academic point of view.

Basically, the student perception of education was that they rejected the view that they were "empty vessels waiting to be filled". A more dynamic approach was used in alternative education, in which pupils participated actively. Instead of history lessons starting with the landing of Jan van Riebeeck at the Cape, an input was expected from students — many of whom were the descendants of the San Chieftain Aotshoma who met Van Riebeeck (the history books call him "Harry").

"Just take it from there — what has happened relatively to the descendants of the Dutch settlers and the San since 1652? It's the story of Bishopscourt and Bishop Lavis (a "coloured" suburb).

"Right from the start, students question the structure of society, quantitatively and qualitatively."

Or like this: State education teaches children about nutritional requirements for health. How many kids from Bishop Lavis get the minimum? How many from

Bishopscourt? The syllabus may be relevant for Bishopscourt: Bishop Lavis kids see it as irrelevant.

Or this: The syllabus describes the historical development of the policy of apartheid. Alternative education pupils go home and talk to their parents about the clearing of District Six.

There is a wild card in the dissemination of alternative education in the Western Cape, and that is the newly-formed Western Cape Teachers' Union. It keeps a very low profile, because its 1 500 members are all potential victims of Carter Ebrahim's sacking threat — and worse. The Labour Party, at its Congress last week, approved a resolution to bar troublesome teachers from benefits such as State-assisted housing.

The WCTU was formed less than a month ago, soon after Mr Ebrahim closed down more than 450 schools in the Western Cape.

It represents the most radical teachers who, together with what appears to be a majority of pupils and students, regard the conservative Coloured Professional Teachers' Association, headed by Franklin Sonn, as "collaborators".

The WCTU put out a statement recently in which it undertook to keep on with alternative education programmes in defiance of Carter Ebrahim's proclamation. It would continue to support student demands, it said, including democratically elected SRCs.

Numerically the WCTU is at a tremendous disadvantage vis-a-vis the CPTA. It boasts only 1 500 members against 25 000 of the CPTA — of whom close on 20 000 teach within the Western Cape region. But it has student/pupil support.

It is extremely difficult to analyse student/pupil demands. Spokesmen keep a low profile too, as most are on the run from the police.

One leaflet, distributed widely when the schools were closed, slammed the police, the Labour party, the Tricameral Parliament, Carter Ebrahim, low wages and "gutter education".

But it also called for unity, and what has the authorities worried is that student/pupil action seems to be arousing perceptible sympathy in the community as a whole.

The boycott is now in its 13th week, and UWC Rector Richard van der Ross thinks it has gone far enough. Van der Ross put out a statement this week urging flexibility from the authorities and less drastic demands from the students.

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CSO: 3400/290

SOUTH AFRICA

PARENTS PLEA FOR EXAM DELAY

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 18-24 Oct 85 p 7

[Article by Sefako Nyaka]

[Text]

A PROPOSED postponement of year-end high school examinations in Soweto will be discussed tomorrow morning at a meeting between the Soweto Crisis Committee (SCC) and the Department of Education and Training (DET), in Pretoria.

According to the SCC spokesman, Isaac Mogase, the DET delegation will be led by the Deputy Minister of Education and Training, Sam de Beer.

The SCC was formed last weekend at a meeting organised by the Soweto Civic Association.

At the meeting, parents discussed conditions under which they would support moves to get pupils back to the classroom.

The conditions were that:

- The South African Defence Force leave the townships and police leave the schools with immediate effect.

- Detained pupils and their leaders should be released.

- The community and relevant government departments should be informed of developments.

- Parents should take responsibility in matters affecting their children.

- High school examinations were inappropriate at this time and should be deferred until the other issues were resolved.

DET chief public relations officer, Job Schoeman, said his department had always been willing to hold discussions "with anyone who is interested in uplifting education".

An SADF spokesman, however, said the Defence Force was acting in support of the South African Police in combating unrest.

"The Defence Force will continue to assist the police in protecting the lives and property of law-abiding people in the black residential areas until the government of South Africa decides otherwise."

/9317

CSO: 3400/290

SOUTH AFRICA

CHILDREN IN TOWNSHIPS ADOPT HARD LINE FOR SAKE OF PARENTS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 16 Oct 85 p 19

[Text]

A 19-year-old black girl on her way to a private secretarial college was grabbed by five "comrades" — young political activists — in central Johannesburg yesterday and taken to a "re-education centre" in a city hotel.

The "kidnappers" waylaid the young woman at the entrance to the college and took her to the secret rendezvous, where several other "comrades" were waiting.

Before managing to sneak out she was lectured on why black schools were being boycotted and why every black person needed to make sacrifices for the struggle, she later told her parents.

"Communal interests must take precedence above those of individuals and every black person should make sacrifices for the benefit of the whole community," she was told at the secret meeting.

Now, the girl's parents are faced with the dilemma of whether to listen to the "comrades" or to defy them "at our own peril".

Her mother admits that she does not know what to do, as do many others faced with similar choices.

"As much as I understand the problems facing the black community, I find it difficult and extremely painful to accept that my child will have to face the future without an education," she said.

Since civil unrest started sweeping black townships more than a year ago, incidents of "re-education" — ranging from the burning of "sell-outs" and their property to intimidation of scabs — have grown.

● At least twice a week workers are forced to walk long distances from the outskirts of townships because bus drivers refuse to enter the townships.

● Buses and taxis are ransacked and consumer boycott breakers punished, often ruthlessly.

● Children continue to boycott schools and have threatened to stay away next year to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the 1976 uprisings.

● It is the children who have taken over the running of political funerals and often persuade unwilling parents to attend them.

● At the funerals, the credentials of the Press are checked by the children and told what they can and cannot do. A number of photographers have had their films seized and exposed by children.

● Unwilling businesspeople are known to have made financial contributions to the bereaved families at the request of the children. They put up their shutters without complaining when called upon to do so.

In a letter to a Sunday newspaper, a woman who identified herself only as "Widowed Mother" expressed more anger.

"I am a peace-lover and there are many things happening now that make me sick. In the townships I am told I must not buy from town, that I must attend funerals. I do not use buses as they are attacked."

"Widowed Mother" probably summed up the anger felt by others, who dare not come out in the open.

Have the parents indeed lost control of the children and the township situation?

The mother of the kidnapped 19-year-old woman admits that she has lost control, but finds it difficult to condemn the children without reservations.

Last weekend Soweto parents and pupils decided to form a crisis committee to negotiate with the Government for the withdrawal of troops from the townships and the deferral of school examinations.

This was a second attempt to hold the meeting. A previous meeting was banned and the organisers were detained but later released without being charged.

After the meeting, parents said they wanted their children back at school, but the extent to which they succeeded would depend on the attitude of the authorities.

It was the Government's attitude to the Soweto Crisis Committee's intervention which would either strengthen or destroy what little confidence the pupils might still have in their parents, the parents said.

"It is the constant slap in the face from the Government that has cost us our children's respect.

"We have constantly forced our children to go back to school, with the promise that things would improve but this has not happened. The children have no faith in us any more."

A social worker, who is also a parent, said she was filled with feelings of ambivalence, fear and uncertainty.

"I find it difficult to condone anarchy; at the same time I cannot accept the protection of soldiers capable of shooting dead a helpless four-year-old child."

She said it was ironic that the parents' seemingly soft approach to the political problems was for the sake of their children. And the children had adopted a hard line for the sake of their parents.

The question most parents were asking now was: "Will the Government allow us to regain the lost confidence and restore order to the townships — by not banning meetings or detaining us?"

SOUTH AFRICA

SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS WILL FIGHT THUGS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 23 Oct 85 p 4

[Text]

THE Soweto Youth Congress has declared war on thugs who have been molesting the black community since the unrest started.

These thugs have harassed residents claiming to represent student organisations.

Thugs and irresponsible youths, masquerading as student representatives, have taken advantage of the unrest in the townships by harassing residents, raping women and robbing them of groceries and money, a student said yesterday.

The thugs have also gone on house-to-house raids in Central Western Jabavu, Soweto, asking either donations or "protection fee" from residents after claiming to be members of the banned Congress of South African Students (Cosas), the student leader continued.

There have been widespread reports from frustrated residents that youths harass them, deprive them of their groceries — in some instances people forced to swallow cooking oil, washing powder and liquids — since the consumer boycott started in Soweto a few months ago.

This matter, coupled

with the unrest in the trouble-torn townships, has caused concern among residents and students feel "this kind of thing has to be eradicated."

The student leader told **The SOWETAN** yesterday they received reports from Jabavu that two young women were attacked in their homes, robbed of money and sexually assaulted in full view of their parents.

The gang of thugs demanded a protection fee from them after claiming that they were members of Cosas wishing to help residents against "bad elements".

"We have since approached the families of some of the culprits and have decided not to take action against them at this stage, the student leader said.

The leader also said that several incidents of assault, robbery and mayhem might be occurring in the townships without being reported to the authorities.

"We are appealing to residents to report such incidents because these people are taking advantage of political organisations and using them to achieve their own evil aims.

"We cannot allow this kind of thing to happen

to innocent people. We also suspect that there are other elements involved, and encouraging anarchy in our townships."

The leader said former members of the banned Cosas, together with the Soweto Youth Congress, have resolved to convene a meeting at a venue to be announced to discuss these issues.

People who have complaints may report at the Methodist Church Centre, Soweto, or the offices of Priscilla Jana and Associates, 41 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.

SOUTH AFRICA

FIVE WHITE GROUPS JOIN WAR AGAINST RACISM

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 23 Oct 85 p 4

[Text]

FIVE white organisations have joined forces to express concern about the current crisis in the country.

The organisations, grouping under the banner of Concerned Citizens, have launched a political campaign aimed at gaining more white support to the call for the dismantling of apartheid.

A series of meetings will be held during the next two months, and the first takes place in Parktown today. The theme of these meetings will be "The road to peace through dismantling apartheid."

Among other things, the Concerned Citizens are calling for the lifting of the state of emergency; release of all political prisoners and detainees; the SADF troops to be withdrawn from the townships; unbanning of all banned organisations; the scrapping of all discriminatory laws.

The Concerned Citizens said in a statement this week: "We wish to make known to the Government and our fellow citizens our concern about the present crisis and our views on how to achieve peace, justice and democracy."

System

"Apartheid, a system which deprives the majority of — among other things — political representation, only results in social conflict. The only way to achieve lasting peace is for all the people to decide their own future through one-person-one-vote in a united South Africa."

Among bodies represented in Concerned Citizens are the Black Sash, the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee and National Union of South African Students.

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CSO: 3400/332

SOUTH AFRICA

PORT ELIZABETH'S BISHOP CONDEMNS WHITE IGNORANCE OF BLACK OPPRESSION

Port Elizabeth WEEKEND POST in English 5 Oct 85 p 11

[Article by Martin Strydom]

[Text]

MANY South African whites have never been into a black township in their lives, says the Anglican Bishop of Port Elizabeth, the Rt Rev Bruce Evans, and herein lies the basis of their ignorance of the black situation.

The bishop was expanding on a view expressed in his recent letter to his diocese that white ignorance of the "extent of oppression under which black people live is unbelievable".

He said he entertained overseas visitors who in one day knew more about the townships, because they visited them, than some white people who had lived in PE all their lives.

"Whites are not ignorant by choice, but it is an ignorance that has been thrust upon them by a system that is determined to do that.

"Many whites have never sat down and talked to some of these people who are in the townships — people who have to put up with Caspiers going down their streets every night and waking them up; people who live within the sound of gunfire; with soldiers and policemen banging on their doors at 3am; where doors are smashed in and teenagers hunted; where people are being pulled out of their houses and arrested -- eight and 10-year-olds arrested and taken in."

To appreciate this situation "you have to be there", he said.

Many white people he talked to were not even aware that the vast majority of people lived in townships without sewerage and in older townships without electricity or running water.

"These are the normal situations — without the state of emergency."

Whites did not know about the increasing anger within the young black person who did not need agitators to stir him up.

"The very system itself has so politicised him and angered him that the increasing hatred towards white people is becoming quite frightening."

The presence of the military and young white soldiers was destroying the very area where one would hope there would be some kind of *rapprochement* between white and black, and that was between young people.

"Many of the young black people I speak to — and I mean not just a few, but hundreds — are so angered that there is an antipathy towards young white people that is becoming a frightening factor of life."

Even older people were also showing anger in a way that he had not known before and there was a dissipation of black goodwill as a result of the state of emergency.

One question he said he encountered most from whites was: "Why don't they go to school?"

"They don't go to school because they want an equal, fair, common and central education system, and not the education that they have been having which has not pre-

pared them for a modern 20th century technological society."

He said for anyone to say the education system was equal was to be naive or deceitful.

"There's no way someone can say they have the same education when the State spends six or seven times as much on a white child as it does on a black child.

"Education is not just school books, it's a system, and the only way for equal education is when you've got a common system where people share together in the same facilities.

"Whites don't seem to realise how deeply a black person feels the discrimination in education and also the intense frustration young blacks suffer when their people and leaders are detained and banned.

"The only way to work off the frustration is in a violent way and the focus will be education, because that is where their first antipathy lies. So schools burn."

It was also not true to say whites supply blacks with schools, he said.

"They have supplied them themselves. They pay taxes too. Until recently blacks paid proportionally higher taxes than whites. And they pay GST, and fuel tax, and income tax just like whites do."

But the real essence of the ignorance among whites, he said, was that they did not want to know.

"It's far more comfortable not to know. It's so strange if you live in an affluent situation with luxury; you don't want to know what's going on.

"It breaks into your life. Your whole lifestyle is affected by it and who wants that?"

~ They were also unaware of the fear among older black people, not only of the situation but also for their children.

"Many are horrified by some of the things that are happening. But they understand that if black people are collaborating with a system they see as demonic — there will be consequences.

"They are horrified by the consequences and frightened themselves. A lot of black people are frightened, not of the army, but because of what is happening in the townships."

He also said whites were ignorant of the breadth of the political knowledge and awareness among black people, specially young people, "and their total rejection of the present system".

"So that any talk of reform is a non-subject for them because it is all part of the system which is hated and rejected and seen to be evil.

"It is seen as a crime against humanity, never mind against the South African factor."

Any reforms are useless as far as they are concerned unless there is a dismantling of the system of apartheid first, he said.

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CSO: 3400/305

SOUTH AFRICA

MURDER RAMPANT IN PORT ELIZABETH'S BLACK TOWNSHIPS

Port Elizabeth WEEKEND POST in English 5 Oct 85 p 6

[Article by Shirley Pressly]

[Text]

CHILLING statistics on the number of murders in Port Elizabeth's sprawling black townships showed that more people were murdered in the past nine months than in the whole of last year.

According to statistics revealed by the East Cape murder and robbery squad, 345 people died violently in the townships where death stalks daily, last year.

People were killed mostly by knife and in more recent months by burning.

By the end of last month 348 people had been murdered in the townships.

Some of them had been given the death sentence by a so-called "People's Court".

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, broke news of the existence of this "judiciary" in the Eastern Cape at the National Party Cape Congress held in PE this week.

Police first became aware of the existence of the "People's Court" in Port Alfred in February.

Since then the system has spread throughout the Eastern Cape.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Eastern Cape, Brigadier Ernest Schnetler, sketched how the system worked.

He said residential areas were divided into regions and each region was controlled by a regional committee.

They had their own "prosecutors", "magistrates" and "judges", but there was no mention of a defence counsel.

Some sentences imposed by the "People's Court" came to the notice of the police but no statements were made to the police by victims.

The police are investigating, nevertheless.

In one case a man was sentenced to 200 lashes and an East London shebeen owner was being treated in the Frere Hospital after being sentenced to 75 lashes.

Fines are imposed in some cases but police have not been able to establish what happens to the money which apparently goes into

the pockets of the "comrades" to fund their activities in the townships.

In Port Elizabeth the Evening Post was told about a woman who defied the boycott and foolishly showed her purchases to a neighbour who informed the "comrades".

The "People's Court" met at her home and the neighbour gave evidence and pointed out the purchases after she denied committing the "crime" of shopping in town.

The boycott-breaker was told that since her "hands were troubling her" it would be appropriate to deal with her hands which were placed over a burning tyre and badly burnt.

Brig Schnetler confirmed that husbands and wives also had recourse to the "People's Court" to sort out domestic squabbles.

There were cases where debtors were hauled before the court on trumped-up charges by people who loaned them money.

In one case a woman who tired of her husband arranged for him to be given the "necklace" after being brought before the "People's Court".

But it had repercussions for her. She was badly assaulted by a rival group of "comrades" who held their own court to deal with her.

Col Eric Strydom, head of the murder and robbery squad, said that stabbing was still the most common cause of death.

Howedver, an "ugly method", the "necklace" murder had been popular since the beginning of the year.

The new-style killings called into play meticulous skills of forensic experts.

Victims were stabbed, doused in petrol and then set alight, usually on burning tyres or with a tyre draped around the neck.

Col Strydom said that in particularly gruesome murders the only remains were teeth and a few bones.

Yet only two bodies which had been burnt remained unidentified. They had been found at St George's Strand.

In most cases identification was possible.

When bodies were badly burnt, the next-of-kin could identify something.

In Uitenhage the parents of two teenage boys who were set alight were identified by their feet. One was identified by an old scar on the foot and the other by his feet which his father said were undoubtedly those of his son.

Last year the murder and robbery squad had a success rate of 87% in solving murders in the townships and 100% success rate with six white murders.

Col Strydom said his detectives still moved around the townships quite freely.

He said he was saddened and distressed by the murder of one of his detectives, Det-Sgt Lungile Manene, last month.

He is still visibly distressed when he talks about the murder.

His crack squad is also involved in all the investigations arising from the unrest such as arson and public violence.

The breakdown of murders in the townships in the first nine months of this year are as follows: January 24, February 30, March 34, April 47, May 43, June 52, July 44, August 33 and September 41.

Summing up the work of his squad, Col Strydom said: "We have a job to do and we do it."

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CSO: 3400/305

SOUTH AFRICA

DISCONTENT SIMMERS IN KARROO TOWNS

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 18-24 Oct 85 p 11

[Text] To many people travelling between Cape Town and Johannesburg, Colesberg is just a dusty dorpie in the Karroo one passes through.

Little is known about the 75 percent unemployment rate, or the fact that the highest paid workers are those working for Escom -- earning about R400 a month.

When a middle-aged woman was doused in petrol before being set alight two week ago, news bulletins just mentioned the incident in passing.

It occurred to very few that the incident was the culmination of a long series of bitter grievances the residents had against the authorities.

When the local Development Board decided to increase rent to between R17,40 and R31,10 early this year, the residents felt the increase was biting too deeply into their already overstretched budgets.

On June 16 this year, after several failed attempts, residents ultimately managed to raise their grievances with officials of the Board at a public meeting.

They wanted rents to remain at R8,70 because of the high rate of unemployment and because many of the pensioners and widows couldn't afford the high rent.

They also complained about the housing shortage, bad roads, lack of electricity and a water-borne sewerage system.

Most of the residents depend on communal taps and a bucket system communal toilet that is hardly ever kept clean.

Refuse removal is inconsistent and human waste is dumped just outside the township. When the rainy season sets, the stench becomes unbearable.

There are no shops in the township and no sports facilities.

Board officials promised to submit residents' grievances to "head office" in Port Elizabeth, then left the meeting.

Shortly afterwards, police moved into the township and fired several rounds of tearsmoke.

On July 2, residents called for a consumer boycott of selected shops "because there are no shops in the township."

On the same date, SADF pitched camp on the outskirts of the township. This enraged the residents.

A car belonging to a policeman was pushed out of his yard and set alight.

Security forces moved in and two babies -- a 10-day-old and a two-month-old -- were among the four children who died from the effects of tearsmoke.

Police opened fire on a crowd in the street and four people were shot dead.

Two days later, a crowd set fire to the belongings of a policeman.

The same evening, security forces "swept" through the tiny township. Seventy-nine people -- 60 children, 11 men and eight women -- were arrested in the raid.

In sworn affidavits, those arrested alleged they were severely tortured and tearsmoke cannisters were periodically hurled into the cells.

"About 14 people were removed from the cells and "treated after choking from the tearsmoke," said one of those arrested.

A day later, Reverend Moses Mcoyana and Chris Siyonzana, a member of the Colesburg Action Committee, were released.

On July 20, during the funeral in Cradock of four UDF activists whose charred and badly mutilated bodies were discovered from their burnt-out car, the township "was tense."

On Monday, July 22, Rev Mcoyana intervened when a group of students were marching towards their school.

"I wanted to wasn't them to go no further because there were two police vans parked in the direction in which they were marching," Rev Mcoyana said.

While the pastor was talking to the children, the police moved in and fired several rounds of birdshot.

About 14 people were injured, including Rev Mcoyana, who was shot in the legs.

They were taken to the local hospital. After treatment all except Rev Mcoyana, who was badly hurt, were taken to the police station, where they were charged with holding an illegal gathering.

The 13, including Siyozana, who was arrested a day later, will appear on November 5 to answer charges of public violence.

Throughout this time residents have maintained a "selective consumer boycott".

On August 23, a furniture delivery van was set alight in the township.

A quiet period followed until a month later, when three people were arrested for intimidation (relating to the consumer boycott) and arson (for the burning of the policeman's belongings).

On October 2, a woman accused of having defied the boycott stand and of "informing" on those who monitored the boycott was doused in petrol before being set alight.

Police arrived and the woman was rushed to hospital.

A week earlier her husband had approached the Colesberg Action Committee (CAC) to state that he was not against the boycott and that his wife had not informed on anybody.

The CAC allegedly assured him all was well and also pleaded with youths not to harm the woman.

A youth has been arrested in connection with the attack.

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CSO: 3400/304

SOUTH AFRICA

POLICE MAY GUARD BLACK MATRICS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 16 Oct 85 p 19

[Text]

Police protection may be provided for black pupils writing their matric examinations in the trouble areas, says the chief of public relations at the Department of Education and Training, Mr Job Schoeman.

The main trouble areas include the Cape, Soweto and Mamelodi.

Mr Schoeman said yesterday that special arrangements were being made for pupils who faced intimidation because they wished to write their exams.

It was likely that some schools would write exams in one centre to prevent intimidation, he said.

Although 91 331 pupils had registered in April for their final exams, the DET expected fewer would write.

BURNT

Last year 84 000 pupils registered for exams and 78 300 finally wrote them.

Mr Schoeman said more pupils had been affected by unrest this year. "In Cradock, for example, a child was burnt alive behind some school buildings," he said.

Despite disturbances in many schools, the matric examinations could not be postponed.

"That would affect almost 100 000 people. Also, what about those who wanted to go to university next year — they would not get their results in time to enrol," he said.

Although the Transvaal Education Department had stopped conducting supplementary exams, the DET would still run these exams in February/March, Mr Schoeman said.

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CSO: 3400/288

SOUTH AFRICA

REPORTER STRESSES NEED TO DEVELOP FUTURE BLACK MANAGERS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 16 Oct 85 p 9

[Text]

TWO weeks ago I attended a symposium on human resources development organised by the Human Sciences Research Council.

Issues that were addressed at this indaba showed in no uncertain terms that there was a great need for blacks to be trained in management skills. By so doing the anticipated skilled manpower shortage could probably be met.

My only concern, whenever I am invited to attend such discussion forums, is that there seems to be a great deal of talk about what needs to be done. One hears very little about how things ought to be done in a real life situation.

I believe that time is now opportune for companies — both those run by blacks and whites — to start placing potential blacks in management positions. In that manner, they would be starting to groom blacks in senior positions.

Of course, when this starts to take place, companies would be required to commence enrolling prospective employees to participate in management development programmes offered by management institutions and university business schools.

It is a fact of life that for an individual to be successful in business he would need to be given exposure in management techniques. Obviously a mere acquisition of these skills would not assist him to climb the corporate ladder if he was not able to apply the knowledge he has acquired.

It is true that practice makes perfect. The more you practice the more you become perfect in whatever you are doing. Most people have a tendency of being satisfied with the knowledge they have acquired, as they would not see the reason for using it to their advantage.

The other day I was thrilled to watch junior achievement high school pupils at the Centre for Developing Business at the Wits Business School in Parktown going through their paces in running a mini-company sponsored by a leading coldrink company.

This programme provides participants with the basic skills of how to form, manage and liquidate a company within 12 weeks. Participants are recruited from high schools in the northern suburbs, Soweto and Bosmont.

In this programme pupils are taught how to start a business and the necessary tools they require to manipulate a company by establishing a management structure. The organisational structure is comprised of a managing director, a financial manager, production manager, marketing manager and a personnel manager.

They have a production facility at the

centre, where they manufacture products such as pens, frustration pillows and detergents. Once the goods have been produced the marketing manager sells the product to the public through a selected sales team.

There is also another group of pupils who prepare financial records such as a sales budget, income statement and a balance sheet. The interesting part is that the pupils are assisted by voluntary advisers, who come from different companies.

The Centre for Developing Business is doing a fantastic job in preparing high school pupils to become business leaders of tomorrow. What makes this programme unique is that it is open to all students irrespective of race, colour or religion.

Probably this could help to bridge the gap between the universities and the corporate world.

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CSO: 3400/287

SOUTH AFRICA

MANY OBSTACLES CONFRONT ASPIRANT BLACK MANAGERS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 17 Oct 85 p 16

[Article by Mike Siluma]

[Text]

About nine years ago it would have been unthinkable to publish a journal for black businessmen, but the 1976 uprisings, which heralded many changes in South African society, changed all that.

The European Economic Community and Sullivan codes of conduct, which spurred corporations to promote blacks to managerial positions, were some of the results of the 1976 period.

Today there are a growing numbers of blacks who have set their sights on various management positions, aided by companies anxious to change the all-white image of their managements.

Mr Ernest Mcunu, vice-president of the Black Management Forum, and editor of its quarterly, *The Black Leader*, is one of those who have proved that blacks can make it to the highest echelons of management.

Mr Mcunu is the Southern and Central African trade and community development manager for an American multi-national soft drink company, for which he has worked at various levels of management for ten years.

He is also a member of several managerial organisations both here and abroad.

In an interview this week, he discussed his long haul to the top, pointing out that the ascendance of blacks to top management positions in South Africa's corporate world was fraught with problems.

This was so, he said, even though it was now an established fact that for the country to meet the steadily rising demand for quality management, it was essential that it continue to uncover and train increasing numbers of suitable blacks for such positions.

One of the main stumbling blocks encountered by prospective black manager was racial discrimination practised by many of the country's companies, said Mr Mcunu.

"Many companies are not doing their best to train more blacks for top-level management positions. Those that do tend to look for higher academic qualifications from blacks seeking to take up such positions. Companies are still afraid to go wholesale in their recruitment of blacks for management posts.

"A lot of the resistance to the promotion of black managers comes from white middle management, who fear the loss of their own jobs. In many cases you find that a company has an equal-opportunity policy but it is frustrated by middle management."

Because of the inherent racial discrimination in South Africa, the black with the potential would have to be protected from racial prejudices to be able to rise to senior management positions within South African companies.

With the advent of black managers in the corporate world being a relatively new thing, senior management also had a duty to help black managers establish their authority.

"When appointing a black manager, senior management must make it absolutely clear to subordinates, both black and white, that the black manager is in charge. It is bad, when introducing the black manager, for senior management to whisper to white subordinates: 'Don't worry, we are just trying the fellow out'.

"This is hardly calculated to inspire confidence or respect for the new man. Similarly, if, for example, a black manager fires someone by mistake, top management should at all costs avoid being seen to usurp the manager's authority and judgment by directly reinstating the dismissed person. It is far better to have an off-the-record, private meeting with the manager and persuade him to withdraw the dismissal."

The inadequate education system for blacks, which lacked proper career guidance and emphasised

"certification", did not help the lot of the aspirant black manager, Mr Mcunu added.

And the problems of the black manager did not end the moment he had acquired the necessary qualifications and proved his potential. Some companies, having provided training for blacks, did not follow the logical step of giving them the promised positions.

"This has resulted in many black managers becoming disillusioned, resigning and starting their own businesses because they saw no future in white-dominated companies. Blacks in the United States were faced with a similar problem and did the same," he said.

Mr Mcunu said the only way to change the negative perception of capitalism by many young blacks — and their reluctance to "join the system" by becoming managers — was to introduce changes in South Africa that would show that blacks had something to gain from the economic system.

● Besides editing *The Black Leader*, Mr Mcunu writes occasional articles on management for the *Sowetan* newspaper. A collection of the articles has been compiled into a booklet entitled "Top Level — Advice To Aspirant Black Managers".

The booklet is available at R5.54 (including GST) from The Executive Director, South African Institute of Management, P O Box 31828, Braamfontein 2017.

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CSO: 3400/288

SOUTH AFRICA

METHODISTS RESOLVE TO CONTINUE STRUGGLE FOR FREE SOCIETY

Church's 103rd Conference

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Oct 85 p 15

[Text] Bloemfontein--The Methodist Church of Southern Africa at its 103rd conference in Bloemfontein, resolved to continue the struggle for a free society, "one aspect of which must be a common educational system for all."

It was feared that the potential of an entire generation was being lost with incalculable consequences for the individuals concerned and for the country as a whole, the Church said.

This could no longer be seen in isolation as an educational issue only, but had become a political matter. Until the fundamental injustices of South African society were put right, there would be no satisfactory resolution to the problems in education.

The situation was highly volatile and differed considerably from region to region, with serious education problems that needed to be addressed.

Task Forces

Regional task forces are to be formed to respond suitably--in consultation with the community--to the educational crisis in the respective regions and to implement, if appropriate, programmes that use church buildings and other resources.

The board of education was mandated, in consultation with other departments and like-minded bodies, to explore a positive approach to education for implementation in a free South Africa.

Teachers were asked to volunteer their services for programmes offered, while students should make use of these opportunities to prepare themselves for their role in a free society.

On the question of disinvestment, the Church said there had been no proper debate and consideration in its churches of this issue.

This had been because "we have allowed ourselves to be restrained by the severity of laws designed to prevent open discussion of economic sanctions" and meant that the only arguments heard in South Africa were those in opposition to disinvestment, the conference said.

It directed its new standing committee on "ethics of the economic life" to prepare educational material on the disinvestment and sanctions debate for discussion at quarterly meetings so that there may be a report to the 1986 conference through the district synods.

Complex Role

The conference recognised that foreign investments and loans had a controversial and complex role in the prevailing patterns of power and privilege in South Africa. It was aware of the South African Council of Churches' resolution that supported disinvestment.

It recognised that a division of opinion existed in the churches on disinvestment and economic sanctions as economic actions to supplement political and diplomatic pressures on the South African Government in order to expedite change.

It believed that present disinvestment and pressures for disinvestment had caused many White South Africans to consider the present political conflict in South Africa more seriously.--Sapa

SADF Raid on Botswana Condemned

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Oct 85 p 15

[Text] Bloemfontein--Reliance on violence against the method of diplomacy was contrary to the gospel, the Methodist Church of Southern Africa said in Bloemfontein when it condemned the SA Defence Force raid into Botswana in which at least 14 people, including women and children, were killed.

The conference condemned "this act of aggression in violation of the territorial integrity of a sovereign state" and endorsed the decision of the United Nations that called on South Africa to pay full compensation to Botswana and to refrain from further acts of destabilisation in the region.

Deep condolences were expressed to the families of those killed in the raid.

The South African Government was called on to dismantle the structures of injustice that made South Africa a "refugee-producing country" and to declare unconditional amnesty to all South African refugees and exiles.

In amplification of the call for amnesty, the Government was asked to allow free participation in political activity and to legalise South African political parties that were banned at present.

The church's department on public questions was directed to establish a task force to analyse the complex situation that surrounds violence in the southern Africa situation and to produce educational material, for use in local churches, to deal with a theological perspective on violence.

It would deal with:

- the roots of violence in Southern Africa;
- the nature of police and military violence and the violence of unrest;
- attitudes of major political organisations to violence; and
- non-violent alternatives that can be explored by the Church: The nature of institutional violence.--Sapa

Afrikaner Homeland 'Sinister'

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Oct 85 p 15

[Text] Bloemfontein--Grave concern at the movement in certain right-wing Afrikaner circles to try and create an Afrikaner homeland and to divide South Africa even further into racial [words illegible] expressed by the Methodist Church of Southern Africa at its 103rd conference in Bloemfontein.

It was believed that this was a sinful and sinister extension of the heretical apartheid philosophy that could only lead to greater separation and racial hatred and cause more hardship, suffering and violence in the sub-continent.

It was stressed that no [words illegible] decide on the future of southern Africa and the conviction was reiterated that God's will was for peace and justice in one South Africa for all South Africans.--Sapa

Conscription Opposition Praised

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Oct 85 p 15

[Text] Bloemfontein--The work of the End Conscription Campaign was commended by the Methodist conference yesterday.

The conference encouraged members to participate in such a campaign and most delegates were opposed to conscription.

The conference said conscription compelled thousands of young South Africans to fight a futile war in South West Africa and against fellow South Africans inside the country's borders.

Men who were conscripted were required to assist in the defence of apartheid policies, while those who refused military service faced the choice of a life of exile or penalties of up to six years in prison.--Sapa

TV Reflects Blacks Badly

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Oct 85 p 15

[Text] Bloemfontein--Concern at SABC-TV's and other media tendency "to promote incidents that tended to reflect an unfavourable image of Black people" was expressed by the Methodist Church conference yesterday.

It was also believed that violence featured too prominently in the entertainment programmes of SABC-TV.

The easy availability of home videos that depicted explicit extra-marital sex and violence as a normal way of life, as well as the increased circulation of such films commercially was also viewed with concern.--Sapa

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CSO: 3400/285

SOUTH AFRICA

RELIGIOUS LEADERS STRESS NATION'S RELIGIOUS COHESIVENESS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 17 Oct 85 p 16

[Article by Hannes de Wet]

[Text]

The potential of religion as a cohesive force between the various groups in South Africa is an ideal that would not easily be attained. A leader with charisma and vision would be needed to convince the country's Christians that their common beliefs are more important than their dogmatic differences.

This is the view of church leaders who have been approached for comment on the findings of a working committee of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

The findings, published on Monday, formed part of the HSRC investigation into intergroup relations and social change in South Africa.

According to the committee of researchers religion in South Africa was the single largest factor between the various groups in the country and had the potential to be one of the strongest cohesive forces in a deeply segmented society.

The 1980 census had shown that 77 percent of all South Africans claimed, nominally at least, to be Christian.

But this "untapped" potential, the committee said, remained inactive with the result that religion often played a divisive rather than a cohesive role.

The reason for this, said Professor Johan Heyns, Moderator of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Northern Transvaal, was that the different church groups were extremely fragmented.

"There is no single body to bind them together, in other words no co-ordination. We do have the South African Council of Churches, but the Afrikaans churches are not members of the council."

Asked what the chances were that all the country's Christians could be united through such a single body, Professor Heyns said:

"It will not happen easily. There are deep, even radical, dogmatic differences between some churches which they feel very strongly about. The traditional churches are especially unbending in this regard."

How could the ideal of a cohesive Christian force be achieved?

"What's needed," said Professor Heyns, "is a leader with charisma, vision and the ability to bind Christians together by emphasising their broader common Christian values."

"I'm thinking of values such as justice, peace and love which overrides dogmatic differences."

The Rev B K Dhlula, a leading figure in the Congregational Church, agreed. "Religious groups, especially those among the main traditional churches, are holding very tight to their dogmas. To untangle that would be extremely difficult and would take a lot of time."

"I agree a visionary leader would be needed to convince the country's Christians that they all belong together. But if it could be achieved many barriers would fall by the wayside," Rev Dhlula said.

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CSO: 3400/288

SOUTH AFRICA

CAPE COUNTS COST OF THREE MONTHS UNREST

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 18 Oct 85 p 6

[Text]

CAPE TOWN — At least 62 people have died and damage estimated at more than R6 million has been caused in three months of unrest in the Western Cape.

The estimate does not include damage to coloured schools, buses, security force vehicles and privately owned cars or losses sustained during looting.

Many Government departments and private concerns are reticent about discussing the extent of the damage.

If losses in real terms are difficult to estimate, losses due to decline in sales, for example, are impossible. Delivery vehicles now stop on the outskirts of townships. Some dealers make the trip to collect items such as meat and bread but others do not, causing losses in sales.

It is impossible to say how many vehicles have been damaged or gutted by fire, how many shops looted, how many schools broken into and damaged — in fact, the financial cost of three months of stone-throwing and fire-bombing might never be established.

Police said that between August 28 — the day of the planned march to Pollsmoor prison — and September 17, 44 people had died.

--- Before that, two people died after unrest flared in Guguletu on July 19 and, since September 17, 16 people have been killed.

A spokesman for the South African Special Risks Insurance Association (SASRIA), said claims were not broken up into regions but that material damage in the Western Cape was high.

At least 13 buildings, including welfare offices, post offices and beerhalls have been petrol-bombed and looted. Many Government departments could not say how many buildings had been attacked.

A Post Office spokesman said damage was "something we don't comment on," but a spokesman for the Western Cape Development Board said losses of at least R1,25 million had been suffered.

Black education authorities said damage of about R80 000 had been caused to buildings but attempts to obtain figures from coloured education authorities — whose losses are probably higher — were fruitless.

COUNCIL LOSSES

The city council has suffered losses of about R180 000 and the divisional council about R40 000.

Dr Stan Evans, the town clerk, said that, in broad terms, council property valued at R152 000 had been damaged before September 9. Since then a further R30 000 damage had been caused.

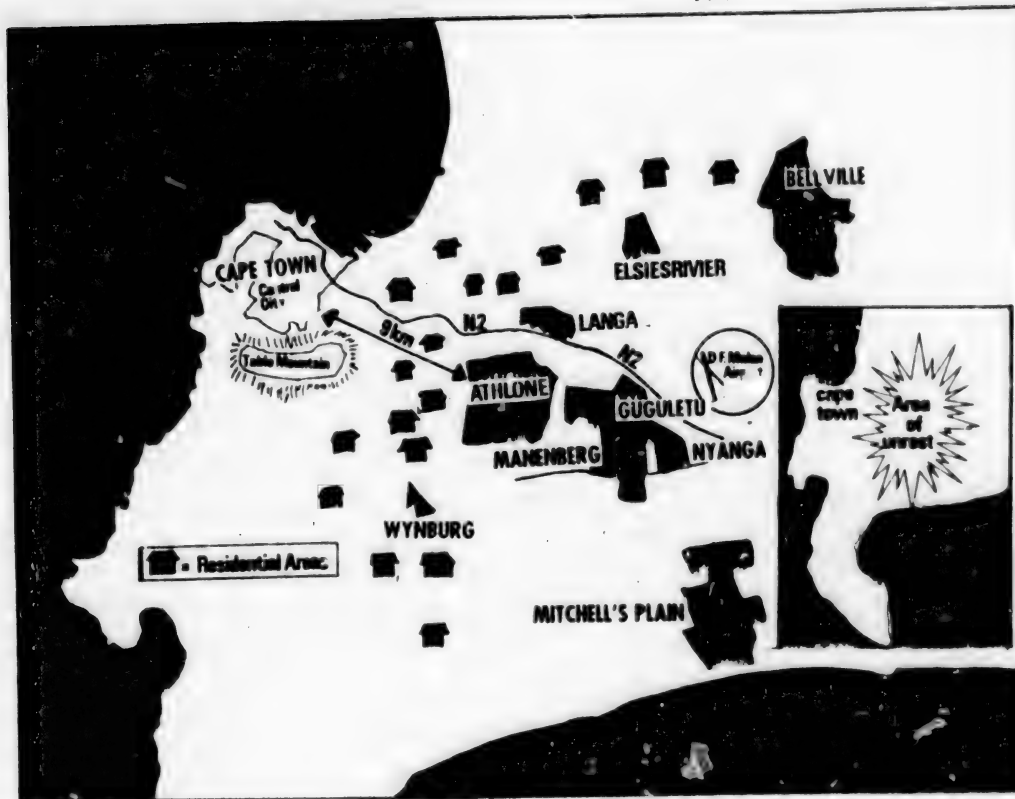
The decline in the figure was probably due to the fact that much of the equipment wrecked in many of the trouble spots had not yet been replaced.

At least 25 vehicles — including six buses valued at R100 000 each — have been gutted by fire and hundreds damaged through stone-throwing.

A spokesman for a bakery said four lorries, valued at R110 000, had been burnt-out but the company had come off lightly compared with others.

Damage to City Tramways buses since July 14 was estimated at R1,5 million, the managing director, Mr Nick Cronje, said.

Mr Cronje added that the loss to the company would eventually have to be absorbed by the passengers. — Sapa.



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CSO: 3400/287

SOUTH AFRICA

SPOTLIGHT ON POPULATION LAWS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 19 Oct 85 p 10

[Commentary by David Braun]

[Text]

This week saw the political guns trained on the Population Registration Act, the law without which apartheid could not work.

A working committee of the Human Sciences Research Council said the law was at the root of the ill-feeling between the various South African groups, and called for its demise.

The Government's reaction is still awaited, but the betting is that it will strongly disagree.

The committee had some strong criticism for the system of statutory racial classification.

It found that the legislators of this country had tried to categorise the various population groups, with the exception of the whites, on the basis of ethnic origin, relatives, cultural identity or other physical factors such as place of residence or place of birth.

White people have never been subjected to this type of classification, even though the two main sub-groups — the English-speakers and the Afrikaners — have as many of their own characteristics as do the various black groups.

In fact the only time South African lawmakers have statutorily distinguished between the English-speaking whites and Afrikaners was the extent that some provincial ordinances prescribed that education up to Standard 8 had to be in the mother tongue.

This distinction did not occur in any other field, the committee found.

Whites have traditionally been registered as such by virtue of their obvious appearance and the fact that they were generally taken for white.

A person with non-white forebears could not claim to be white.

Coloureds have been classified as such on the basis that they are neither white nor black, but are designated to be of a particular category, such as Cape coloured, Griqua, Malay or "other coloured".

Origin is of primary importance here and not appearance or whether one is generally accepted as being of a particular group.

Within the determinants of what a coloured is are various cultural, social, religious and other factors. Some of them may be Western and white, while others may be Eastern and even black.

The committee found that because coloureds were neither white nor black, it was impossible to arrive at a uniform definition of the coloured population group in the various racial laws.

This inability to force a section of the population into a colour segment of statutory separation reflected the deepest dilemma in the South African constitutional system.

A person may be coloured for the purposes of one law, black for another. In the case of a white who lives with a coloured, that white is coloured.

The fact that an extended system of racial classification for all non-white groups was implemented in such an all-embracing way, while whites were at no stage so affected, was evidently one of the friction points in intergroup relations, the study found.

To aggravate matters, the system of classification was drawn up by white legislators and implemented by white officials for the other population groups.

It was not surprising then that the HSRC committee found that such a system had caused so much suspicion and ill-feeling between the groups.

But how realistic is its recommendation that the law should go?

If the Government were to do that it would mean that there would be no system in which to categorise each person with a view to segregated voting and residential rights.

Without that it would not be possible to implement the Group Areas Act or a racially segregated political system, such as the current tricameral Parliament.

The Government is prepared to negotiate any political dispensation which would accommodate the political aspirations of each population group, provided that minority groups are in a position to be as autonomous as possible.

The principles of group areas, giving each group the right to its own residential areas and schools, are not negotiable, according to the Government.

Obviously, from the Government's point of view, the system of population classification and registration will not go.

Each person will continue to be locked into the specific population group in which he is born.

And that is something that predictably will be the focus of much angry argument.

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CSO: 3400/287

SOUTH AFRICA

FOREIGN INVESTMENT INCREASING IN CISKEI

Port Elizabeth EVENING POST in English 16 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by Keith Ross]

[Text] **BISHO — During the past financial year 36 new factories — representing an investment of R138,7 million — have been attracted to Ciskei in spite of the economic depression prevailing in Southern Africa.**

This was disclosed today by Ciskei's Minister of Finance, Chief M E P Malefane, who added: "This represents a potential increase of 14 146 new jobs at an average cost of R8 200 per job in industry alone."

Chief Malefane was addressing a Press conference at which the annual report of the Ciskeian People's Development Bank was released.

He said that in spite of the worldwide disinvestment campaign, not one of the 46 overseas companies in Ciskei had shown any inclination to support such moves.

"Quite the contrary is true," he said. "If anything, international interest in Ciskei is on the increase."

"While several countries worldwide have taken a very adamant stand against the policies of South Africa, two major European firms have

committed themselves to a joint venture establishing a R6 million textile mill in Ciskei."

Chief Malefane said 107 factories were now operating in the country.

"They represent a total investment of R245,2 million and provide over 22 300 people with employment," he said.

"Furthermore, it is a fact that at this very moment, no fewer than 40 new factories to the value of R71,2 million are in the process of being built and are contractually committed to establishing themselves."

"This represents a very material vote of confidence in the economic future of Ciskei."

This investment also represented a vote of confidence in Ciskei's policies of non-discrimination as a solution to the problems of Southern Africa.

"When one takes into account that during the entire period of current unrest, when Duncan Vil-

lage was burning on our very doorstep and Ciskei's factories lost less than a week of production through intimidation and stayaways, then you will agree that an investment in this country represents a real investment in humanity and a bright political and economic future for the whole of Southern Africa," he said.

"The keys to the stability of this sub-continent lie along the paths of free enterprise, investment, mutual growth and development, and certainly not in the violent causes of disinvestment and revolution."

"The former will inevitably bring about peace, prosperity and a mutual respect for the rights of others, irrespective of their colour, race or creed, while violence will only escalate into more violence, racial hatred, tension, poverty and disaster."

"As proof of this, it stands out clear beacon of success, South Africa and the world and as a shining example of what can be achieved through investment leading to development and mutual understanding."

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CSO: 3400/305

SOUTH AFRICA

COLORED PROPERTY BOOM PRESSURES AREAS ACT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 Oct 85 p 11

[Text] CAPE TOWN. — A property boom in Coloured areas and a simultaneous slump in White property sales is one of the strongest reasons for the abolition of the Group Areas Act, according to Cape Town estate agents operating in Coloured suburbs.

The belief in property circles is that reform commitments and political pressure will force the opening of residential districts in some metropolitan areas as a result of the boom-slump anomaly prevailing in the Western Cape.

"The question is when — it's no longer if," said a property developer.

Many Coloured home owners could easily afford to buy houses in better areas if they were allowed to and supply and demand would lead to higher prices, says Mr Quentin Pavitt, a leading agent in the Grassy Park area.

Mr Pavitt, an office-bearer of the Institute of Estate Agents in Cape Town, said the unrest had not led to a fall-off in demand for property in Coloured suburbs.

Other agents and building societies confirmed that the Coloured property market was booming.

Mr Harry Lee Pan, managing director of another large estate agency, said rising prices in Coloured suburbs were entirely due to the Group Areas Act.

Meanwhile, a University of Cape Town survey shows house prices soared in Coloured group areas while prices have plunged in many White suburbs.

Some prices have more than doubled in two years of economic recession, says Dr Trevor Thomson, head of UCT's Real Estate Research Project, in the latest issue of Juta's South African Journal of Property.

The boom has encouraged major house builders such as Bellandia and Disa homes to switch most of their plot-and-plan work to Mitchell's Plain, Elsies River, Belhar, Southdene and other Coloured areas.

Plot sales of R300 000 and house contracts worth R328 000 were notched up last weekend when a R17 million Coloured suburb at the Strand was launched.

Named Southfork, after the Dallas television series, houses will cost up to R 00 000.

A giant R33 million township for 5 000 buyers is planned by Garden Cities near Blackheath, between Gaylee and Kleinvlei. — Sapa.

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CSO: 3400/332

SOUTH AFRICA

SLOW RISE IN BLACK LIVING COSTS SEEN

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 Oct 85 p 9

[Text]

PORT ELIZABETH. — The average household subsistence level (HSL) for a Black household in the five urban centres is expected to reach R453,23 by 1988.

A survey conducted by the Institute of Planning Research of the University of Port Elizabeth has shown that this figure will be reached in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth by October 1988 — provided the rate of inflation continues more or less according to the current trend.

The survey said the overall percentage HSL increase for Black households for the six months ended September in the five major urban areas was a low 2,9 percent. For the previous six month period ending March the increase was 7,8 percent.

For Coloured households an even lower cost trend was observed compared to the previous term. For the same five urban areas, the average increase was a low 1,6 percent compared with a high 10,1 percent for the period

ending March.

"The general low increase for both population groups during the past six months is surprising considering the consumer price increase of 5,7 percent for the lower income groups for the same period.

The survey said the general low increase might be partly due to the fact that a series of price hikes which came into effect on 1 April (fuel, transport, sugar, etc) were included.

"However, it was found in all centres that generally speaking the increase of items exempted from general sales tax was low. For some items such as meat, fish, milk powder and vegetables, prices were generally even lower.

Viewed over a 12-month period, the survey said the increase for Blacks was a low 11,8 percent and 11,9 percent for Coloureds, which was substantially lower than the consumer price index of 16,4 percent for the urban centres (all items, all groups) and 13,9 percent for the lower income groups. — Sapa.

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CSO: 3400/332

SOUTH AFRICA

UCT STUDY EXAMINES POVERTY DATUM LINE

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 18-24 Oct 85 p 11

[Article by Moira Levy]

[Text] A Cape Town university study has criticised the poverty datum line as a measure used in determining wages.

Researcher Debbi Budlender, in a paper released last week by the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit, has warned that wage negotiators make a serious mistake by depending on supposedly scientifically calculated poverty datum lines to set minimum wages.

"Human beings are not plants, for which some might argue that one can calculate fairly exactly the scientific requirements for existence."

Budlender says of the University of Port Elizabeth's household subsistence level and Unisa's minimum living level that they "do not secure long-term survival or insure a family against unfortunate contingencies."

UPE allows R302,35 a month for a coloured family of five in Cape Town. Unisa calculates R338,65. Of these amounts, R163,02 and R146,96 respectively are provided to buy food.

"The prices of the various foodstuffs are calculated on the best prices available, in general those of the cheapest supermarket. Budget economists recommend that to get the best value for money the consumer should do one large shopping each month.

"Few workers can follow this advice. They hold down fulltime jobs and have limited shopping time. They use public transport, which limits the number of parcels and packets they can carry at any time. They are very rarely in possession of the large sums necessary to buy all their monthly purchases at one time.

"In addition, many families have inadequate refrigeration and heating facilities, which means that food cannot be stored for a long period. They are thus forced to make smaller and more frequent purchases," Budlender writes.

She rejects the government's sales tax exemption on essential foodstuffs -- milk, bread, fresh foods and vegetables. "Most of these goods are not often bought by the really poor. Without adequate refrigeration they are forced to buy tinned and other foods which are not exempt from sales tax."

The poverty datum line calculated by the Bureau of Market Research, in its clothing allowance for an adult woman, allows two pairs of panties and three pairs of stockings a year.

"There must be few clothing manufacturers who would be prepared to guarantee that their panties can be worn decently for 182 days without wearing out."

One winter nightdress is allowed, but there is no provision for summer nightwear. Children's cotton pants are long-sleeved jerseys are supposed to last for two years. "This is a real problem with growing children," Budlender writes.

For rent the MLL provides R29,59 a month for a five-member household living in the coloured townships in Cape Town. They would be hardpressed to find a house at that rental, Budlender says.

In Bontecheuwel, Kewtown and Bokmakierie -- Cape Town's oldest and cheapest areas -- rents are R31,05, R44,59 and R19,46 respectively. "In the case of Bokmakierie, however, there are not 302 of these low-rental houses, hardly sufficient to cater for all the workers who fall into this category."

Rents in the newer areas are much higher, ranging from R62,46 in Parkwood to R97,24 in Beacon Valley.

"Most of the people in Cape Town did not choose to live in the areas they are in at present. They were moved there against their will. For many of them this also means transport costs above the average provided in the poverty datum line measures. These households will have to cut down substantially on some other vital area of expenditure."

Most damning of all is that no provision is made in poverty datum lines for education. Coloured people are presumed to have free access to education, and school levies are included in the rent allowances, Budlender writes.

"There is no provision for child care or creches. There is no provision for expenses of adult education. There is no provision for school books beyond those provided free by the school.

"There is no provision for such things such as school suitcases, stationery and sports equipment. There is no extra clothing provision for school uniforms. The assumption that education is free conflicts badly with the de facto position.

"There is absolutely no provision for post-secondary education. This in effect condemns the children of all those who are living at this low level

to low-paying jobs which means that they in turn will live at low levels. This goes against all notions of equality of opportunity."

The calculated poverty datum lines do not allow for expenditure on tooth-brushes, toothpaste or deodorant. The MLL allows for R4,80 a month for medical expenses. "This amount is not enough to cover the contributions to medical benefit funds, even less medical aids."

There is no provision for recreation, or for any transport to doctors, hospitals or any other "non-essential" activities.

Budlender writes: "We need to acknowledge the very real difference between the long term and short term, even when speaking of mere survival.

"In the long term we cannot expect that the lives of all household members will run smoothly. A long-term survival budget must allow for contingencies. People fall ill, are injured and die. Goods are damaged, stolen, lost and broken."

Budlender points to a final problem with the use of poverty datum lines in calculating minimum wages:

"People are not happy earning just enough to keep body and soul together if they see people around them living in the lap of luxury.

"They feel that if they contribute to creating the wealth of a society they have a right to a share in that wealth."

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CSO: 3400/304

SOUTH AFRICA

DIEHARD PLATTELAND FARMERS NOW TAKE TURN TO LEFT

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 15 Oct 85 p 15

[Article by Mariechen Waldner]

[Text]

VRYBURG — A sunburnt, khaki-clad Vryburg farmer called Flip, a Nationalist by birth, harbours weird and wonderful political sentiments that will turn his ancestors in their graves.

Flip openly tells you that he supports the new Government policy of power-sharing with blacks.

He will vote for the National Party when the about 12 000 white voters of the conservative Northern Cape constituency of Vryburg go to the polls on October 30 to elect a new parliamentary representative.

Ask him what converted him to the unthinkable after sharing his party's convictions on the separateness of races since his baby days, he will present you with his mieliepit theory on the necessity of preventing political stagnation.

"We all live in the same country," says Flip. "The time for dominating another folk is past."

"Consider a mieliepit. The 1948 policy was like a mieliepit. You don't expect another mieliepit to grow from it, you expect a mielieplant."

"We must not stagnate. We must grow".

He has, however, no black friends, only black business acquaintances — including the Indian who donated the chairs in the National Party's office because, in his own words, he regarded right-wing rule as a good reason to flee the country.

Flip is also vehemently against sharing his church with black Christians because "they have their own churches".

But he is ready for power sharing with blacks, the mielieplant cultivated from the old mieliepit.

The political accommodation of South Africa's black population is indeed the main issue in the ferocious by-election battle raging in Vryburg, one of the biggest constituencies in the Cape with 26 voting districts scattered over an area of 42 000 sq km.

And voters who don't get the message from the National Party itself inevitably hear it from the Conservative Party's army of right-wing campaigners.

That's why the views of farmers like Flip have to be taken seriously.

Thys Cloete is another power-sharer.

This farmer, who climbs Vryburg's 250 m-high FM tower for fun, is old enough to have voted old apartheid in 1948 — and indeed he did.

But he has also reached some remarkable conclusions during this election campaign.

"I reckon blacks were not created by the devil," he says. "We were all created by one and the same God.

"We must also allow them (the blacks) the right to exist (bestaansreg).

"As times change, so things change. We must adapt to circumstances, we must make new plans for new circumstances," he said.

Thys will not allow his children to visit a multiracial swimming-pool now, but when the time is ripe, in 10 years' time, he will have no objection.

Flip and Thys are not the only Vryburg farmers in the process of adapting their racial views to what they regard as the different realities of the day.

If the by-election results record an NP majority against Conservative Party efforts to stop the process by confronting voters with the spectre of Zimbabwe and a black majority government, the Government need never look over its shoulder again.

The NP's chief organiser, Mr André van Wyk, in fact thinks that his party is heading for a clear majority victory over the combined right wing, the CP and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

But the CP candidate, Mr Andries Beyers, says his party "can win", despite having to contend with another right-wing candidate.

The HNP candidate, Mr Flippie Venter, says his party's canvassing has revealed that the NP will win the by-election, that the HNP will come second and the CP third.

Although the NP will definitely benefit from the collapse of the right-wing election pact in Vryburg, it is by no means certain that the election results will support Mr van Wyk's prophecy, based on a first canvassing round that covered 70 percent of the constituency.

The CP, which has begun a second round of canvassing, is equally confident.

The HNP has not fully canvassed the constituency and does not intend to try.

Mafikeng, which falls in Bophuthatswana, is a thorn in the party's flesh.

Its 2 300 South African voters fall in the Vryburg constituency.

But HNP canvassers, discovering that they have to knock on the doors of four black families in Mafikeng's integrated suburbs to find one white voter, have given up the "distasteful" task.

The CP's racial ideology has also made it unpopular in Bophuthatswana, as CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, discovered when he recently addressed a rally in Mafikeng.

Not only could the party, for the first time in its life, not demand the blacks in the audience make themselves scarce, Dr Treurnicht and his views were hooted out.

The NP's confident and outspoken prediction of victory over its combined right-wing opposition has to an extent been belied by the number of Cabinet members lined up to address the electorate in the vast constituency in the next few weeks.

Twelve Ministers and Deputy Ministers, including the State President, have been scheduled to visit the constituency in October alone.

The Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Pik Botha, will speak in Mafikeng on October 18.

The Minister of Constitutional Planning and Development, Mr Chris Heunis, visited the constituency to announce the Government's final consolidation proposals for the area. Announcements on the area's poor roads have also been made.

Most of the CP's MPs have been called to address meetings in Vryburg, of which 14 have been scheduled for October. They include CP President's Council member, Dr Connie Mulder, brought in from the cold after being kept on ice for most previous by-elections involving the CP.

NP candidate, Mr Johan Scheepers, and his HNP counterpart, Mr Flippie Venter, are native citizens of Vryburg. The CP candidate, Mr Andries Beyers, is not.

Mr Scheepers, a lawyer who has farming interests in the constituency, is Vryburg's current representative in the Cape Provincial Council.

Mr Venter, a businessman and inventor of Vasvat glue, serves on the Vryburg town council.

Mr Beyers is a Western Transvaal farmer.

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CSO: 3400/288

SOUTH AFRICA

INDIAN FARMERS IN INANDA OPT TO BECOME KWAZULU CITIZENS

Durban POST NATAL in English 16-19 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by Khalil Aniff]

[Text]

INDIAN farmers in Inanda and Tongaat would rather become citizens of KwaZulu than have their properties expropriated under the new consolidation plans for Natal-KwaZulu regions.

This submission is contained in a 10-page memorandum which will be handed to the Government-appointed Commission for Co-Operation and Development when it meets in Durban's on Friday.

The memorandum was prepared by the 1800-strong Natal Indian Cane-growers' Association and endorsed by farmers and lessors of properties in three Inanda areas of Groneberg, Inanda Tea Estate, Buffelsdraai and Tongaat's Emona area.

More than 500 sugar and vegetable farmers are on the verge of losing their properties as a result of the consolidation proposals.

Also affected by the planned demarcation is the Indian suburb of Vanrova in Tongaat, which has 118 homes.

Residents there have also vowed to fight to save their properties.

"We have held a series of meetings

with farmers and almost all are willing to become citizens of KwaZulu rather than lose their properties. This is one of our strongest submissions in the memorandum," Mr Yellan Chinsamy, vice-chairman of the Cane-growers' Association, said this week.

More than 100 farmers and their families — between 500 to 600 people — are also affected in the Emona area.

Leasehold

In Inanda's Tea Estate, Groneberg and Buffelsdraai areas, between 300 to 400 farmers will be affected, beside the hundreds of leasehold properties owners and tenants.

Mr Chinsamy said between 50 and 60 farmers, who own 3 500 hectares in the Port Shepstone area, face a similar problem.

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SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

ACCRA TO HOST OATUU CONGRESS--Ghana will host next the extraordinary congress of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity scheduled to take place in Accra in February next year. This was announced at the end of the just ended meeting of the Executive Committee in Accra. A statement issued by the committee appealed to all African trade unionists to regard the forthcoming congress as a forum of unity reminding them that massive participation in the congress would consolidate the unity of the African working class. [Text] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 15 Oct 85 p 1]

NEW MAIZE, RICE PRICES--The Ministry of Agriculture at the week-end announced new minimum guaranteed prices for maize and paddy rice. According to a statement signed by Dr I.K. Adjei-Maafo, Secretary for Agriculture, a 100 kilogramme bag of dry maize will now sell at a minimum guaranteed price of ¢2,000. A 100-kilogramme weight of wet maize will fetch a minimum price of ¢1,000 while the guaranteed minimum price of paddy is ¢2,000 per bag of 90 kilogrammes. The statement explained that the new guaranteed prices provided by the government should not be misconstrued as the control prices. They are meant to ensure that farmers fully cover their production costs. Farmers therefore, can sell above the new prices whenever they have the opportunity. The minimum guaranteed prices are designed to give farmers decent levels of income and insulate them from capricious middlemen, the statement added. [Text] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 14 Oct 85 p 8]

NEW EXCHANGE RATES--The Bank of Ghana yesterday announced new exchange rates for the cedi in relation to the world's major currencies. According to a statement from the bank, the cedi equivalent of one US dollar is now ¢60 instead of ¢57. The pound sterling, ¢85.67 instead of ¢78.92 and the Deutsche Mark ¢23.01 instead of ¢20.42. The new rates took effect from the close of business last Friday. The last adjustment of the cedi was on August 12.--GNA [Text] [Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 9 Oct 85 p 16]

UNION'S EXECUTIVES RELEASED--The entire executive of the Ciskei Teachers' Union was released yesterday after more than a month in detention. Also freed were civil rights lawyer Hintsa Siwisa and the head of the Lennox Sebe Teacher Training Institute, Professor H H Landela. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 18 Oct 85 p 3]

NEW AFRIKANER YOUTH GROUP--Afrikaans student leaders attended the launch last week of a new Afrikaner youth organisation opposed to racial discrimination, Jeug Aksie Suid Afrika, at Rand Afrikaans University in Johannesburg. Chairman of the steering committee is Afrikaner Studentebond (ASB) president Martinus van Schalkwyk. A student leader stressed the new organisation was not in opposition to the ASB. "The ASB is a non-political, cultural movement, whereas Jeug Aksie will provide a formal structure for young Afrikaners to take up political issues." Anyone younger than 29 may join the organisation which believes in non-racialism, a free-market economy, the recognition of basic human rights, one SA with a central government based on the concept of power-sharing and the right of each group to protect its traditions and culture. RAU chairman Magnus Taljaard said he believed most students at RAU opposed the now-aborted visit by Stellenbosch University students to Lusaka to talk to the African National Congress Youth League. Taljaard, speaking in his personal capacity, said he could not agree to the talks because the "ANC was prepared to kill and maim innocent people to reach their political objectives." [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 21 Oct 85 p 5]

MATANZIMA AT INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS--Umtata--The Transkei State President, paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, addressed thousands of people at the ninth independence celebrations held at the Umtata Independence Stadium and told them a war declared on South Africa was a war declared on Transkei. Chief Matanzima said the ANC and their "stooges" were the enemies of the Black people of South Africa and other Black states and said everybody should stand firm in the defence of their heritage. "Transkeians can agree to join a federation of independent states on three departments only and that is foreign affairs, defence and finance, and Transkei will never dismantle her sovereignty in which she is capable of determining her human and material development. He said the emergency regulations of South Africa and Transkei declared at different times were intended to save the lives of innocent, peaceful Blacks in attacks by communist inspired terrorists.--SAPA. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 Oct 85 p 13]

DETAINEES CAN NOW BUY FOOD--State of Emergency detainees are now allowed access to selected reading matter in addition to the Bible, and to buy food from prison shops, following a change in the Emergency regulations gazetted last Friday. This emerged in affidavits brought in reply to an urgent application about the conditions of three Emergency detainees, which came before a Rand Supreme Court judge on Tuesday. The application was brought by Simon Radcliffe, Aurret van Heerden and Innocent Mukwebo on behalf of her son, Themba Andrew Nhlapo, against the government, the Minister of Law and Order and the Minister of Justice. Justice D. Melamet postponed the case until Tuesday and ordered the respondents to submit replying affidavits. It is argued in papers submitted by lawyers for the three detainees and their families that certain provisions of the Emergency regulations relating to restrictions on access to food, reading material and on visits to detainees are punitive and therefore unlawful. Radcliffe, 32, and Van Heerden, 30, have been held at Johannesburg Prison since the declaration of the State of Emergency on July 21. [Text] [Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 18-24 Oct 85 p 3]

BLACK UNIONS NOT INVITED TO TALKS--The Government met with representatives of trade unions this week to discuss details of the State-assisted job creating projects to help thousands of unemployed blacks--but black unions were not invited. The unions which met the Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, in Pretoria, are the conservative Trade Union Council of South Africa (Tucsa) and the whites-only South African Confederation of Labour (Sacla). Those which were not invited include the major black unions, the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu), Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa), the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions and several independent black unions. All the uninvited unions represent the bulk of the workforce in the country. The meeting was called to discuss details of the projects as part of the recently announced R600-million economic relief package to counter widespread unemployment in the country. Official unemployment statistics released by the Government put the figure as having risen from 64 226 in August last year to 122 518 this year. [Text] [Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 17 Oct 85 p 2]

STUDENTS STILL HELD--Transkei police are still holding 108 people, most of them students from the University of Transkei, who were arrested on Tuesday during the funeral of a man allegedly killed by police. The chief of the security police, General Leonard Kawe, confirmed that the 108 were all being held under the country's security laws. [Text] [Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 17 Oct 85 p 2]

JOHANNESBURG CENTENARY ASSOCIATION NONPOLITICAL--The Johannesburg Centenary Festival Association is a non-political body with no Government links whatsoever, the association said in a statement yesterday. Responding to a call to the black community to boycott the Johannesburg centenary celebrations, the JCFA said it seemed strange that such a call was being made when it was earmarking several community projects in Greater Soweto. These projects--planned with the Greater Soweto Chamber of Commerce and Industries--included a community-education centre, old age home, creche and a workshop for the blind. JCFA's project director, Mr Peter Swallow, said: "We are trying to leave everlasting mementoes which will benefit all Johannesburg citizens--including Sowetans." [Text] [Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 18 Oct 85 p 7]

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ZIMBABWE

AUTHOR PROVIDES CRITICAL VIEW OF MUGABE'S POLICIES

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 18-24 Oct 85 pp 12, 13

[Article by David Cauter]

[Text] Six youths in khaki, two of them armed with AK47 rifles, have been waiting for the bus under the shade of a mopani tree. Packed tight, its roof rack overspilling with bundles and boxes, pitching along in a black cloud of diesel fumes, the bus lurches to a halt as the Youth Brigade spreads across the dirt road, Madison brand cigarettes dangling from their lips. In black Zimbabwe, as in white Rhodesia before it, the country bus embodies the slow, weary submission of the populace to the gun.

Ejected from the bus, the passengers squat submissively on the roadside, men in front, women and children to the rear. The blue-uniformed Zimbabwe Republic Police may or may not be on hand, it makes no difference; they will never intervene when the Zanu (PF) Youth Brigade are at work, or the Women's League, or the militia, or the Central Intelligence Organisation, or the Support Unit, or the Special Constabulary, or the ZIP (Zimpolice), or any of the ruling party's proliferating para-military bodies whose zealous mission is the detection of "dissidents", enemies of the people, saboteurs of the coming one-party state.

The six youths work through the male passengers, inspecting their Zanu (PF) party cards, interrogating suspects, their faces blank with the myth of politics, the onrush of populist power which gushes out of the scorched earth recently de-colonised. Only six years ago, at the climax of Rhodesian civil war, it was white farmers and car salesmen of the Police Reserve who were searching buses for weapons and food parcels in transit to "terrorists".

Now the day belongs to the former "freedom fighters" and their eager younger brothers. The Youth Brigade collects money and raises clenched fists: "Pamberi neMugabe! Pasi Nkomo!" The passengers frantically echo the slogans.

Tomorrow or the day after Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, President and First Secretary of the Party, may come campaigning, surrounded by the apparatus of the state, stiff in his starched safari suit and crisp white collar, his voice metallic with inexorable Jacobin rationality, staring through glinting spectacles at the enemies of "unity" as Robespierre stared at the

the Girondins. Further south, old Joshua Nkomo, whose quarrel with Mugabe extends back over 23 years, is hauling his weary bulk through hostile countryside, harassed and stoned, his fate as explicit as Danton's.

ZIMBABWE is where the hopes invested in post-colonial black Africa have been reborn: Scandinavian aid agencies compete to finance its cooperatives, the great powers manoeuvre for a friendly slice of its non-alignment, European and Australian schoolteachers flood in to teach in its new schools, feminists arrive to assist the women's movement and (on occasion) to compare the bruises inflicted by their new, unreconstructed lovers.

Yet Zimbabwe labours, as Prime Minister Mugabe constantly reiterates, under an inherited burden--the imperialist legacy of the Lancaster House constitution of December, 1979, which brought the civil war to a close.

The 20 seats (out of 100) reserved for white voters are, of course, an anachronism and a legitimate irritant, but what most incenses Mugabe are the short-term guarantees for pluralistic parliamentary democracy.

"Only when there is one Zimbabwean people with one leader--the party--will a scientific reorganisation of society along socialist lines be possible." Western-style pluralism, he recently told journalists, brings only "chaos where anybody can run any group, including killer groups, the Ku Klux Klan and the Red brigade."

But how the one-party state would dispose of his own great problem, armed dissidence in Matabeleland, he has never explained. By any logic, to deprive Zapu of its legal existence would only inflame Ndebele resistance there: as the leader of a nationalist party banned for almost 20 years, Mugabe must surely know that.

The one-party state is an undefined panacea. It is "unity". According to Didymus Mutasa, Speaker of the House of Assembly, it is a peculiarly African symbiosis of marxism and the tradition of obedience to the chief. It is "communalism". Yet Zimbabwe is a "socialist" country without prospect of socialism, as was admitted to me by a senior official who helped draft the ruling party's election manifesto.

Zanu (PF) has eagerly adopted the Communist apparatus of central committees and politburos, while leaving the economy in the hands of private companies bothered only by minimum wage legislation and laws which prevent dismissals without the approval of the relevant ministry. It is the unified, monopolistic power structures of eastern Europe, China and North Korea that appeal to the left-leaning bourgeois who now dominate Zanu (PF)'s central committee.

Though the word "tribal" is not kosher in western liberal circles, being regarded as demeaning, it is on the lips of every Zimbabwean--their tribalism, not ours, of course--and the outcome of the election demonstrates painfully that what counts in Zimbabwe is sub-national identity, language and culture and historical tradition.

Despite Zapu's increasing conservatism, the real dynamic of Zimbabwean party politics is that of the clan. The Patriotic Front alliance of the years 1976-79 is now dead and buried and every vote cast against Mugabe, even for the old oppressor Ian Smith, is jubilantly welcomed in Matabeleland.

The better to understand the emerging one-party state, I spent most of the election campaign in Matabeleland. Such has been Zanu (PF)'s onslaught on Zapu that outside of Bulawayo itself, virtually every urban and rural Zapu office has been closed or burnt out. The village meetings held by Zapu during the campaign of June 1985 offered the Ndebele peasantry their first exposure to their leaders since 1982.

Even during the three-week campaign, Zapu's election agents were frequently Zapu's election agents were frequently arrested: six of Edward Ndlovu's agents in Gwanda; three of Isaac Nyati's agents in Bululima-Mangwe. On June 26 and 27 the police cancelled all Zapu meetings, including Nkomo's, in the hotly-contested Beitbridge constituency. Julius Gumbo, a member of Zapu's regional executive, was arrested and imprisoned at Nkayi.

Two days after the white elections the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO), who describe themselves as "from the Prime Minister's office", raided the Thorngrove, Bulawayo, homes of several electoral agents who had supported Zapu's sole candidate for a "white" constituency, a Coloured man with more optimism than sense called Lonly Seckel.

At lam on June 30 the CIO came to a house in Anaboon Road, fired a warning shot through the bathroom window, then burst in on Seckel's election agent, Edward Huntley (also Coloured), and his family. Beating him, mocking him for meddling in politics, they forced Hunter to kneel on the floor with a pistol to his head. When his wife, an African, protested, they beat her, too.

As police vehicles cruised in the street outside, the CIO, wittily describing themselves as soldiers from Brady barracks, dragged away Huntley and his Zapu neighbour, Philip Tennant. Their almost inevitable destination was the torture centre known as Stops Camp, in the heart of Bulawayo. Huntly and Tennant had "been disappeared".

I took this case, informally, to a noted Bulawayo law firm. I interviewed three lawyers. Each shrugged in despair. "Nothing can be done. Under the Smith regime you contacted the Special Branch and traced your man after two days at the most. Now no one knows anything." One lawyer described Stops Camp as a "slaughterhouse".

They told me that at Dagamela, 50 kilometres to the north, the Zanu (PF) election agent, Mkwanzani, had arrived at the polling station on the previous day in a police car and began to harass people queueing to vote. When a local Zapu official tried to intervene there were threats. Inside the polling station the voters were presented with a ballot paper containing only one party, Zanu (PF).

"I told them I wanted to vote for the bull (the Zapu symbol)," reported a farmer prosperous enough to own a car. "They told me, 'No, this is a one-party state'." Learning of this the Zapu district chairman, Mike Mpofu, had tried to enter the polling station but was turned back. At least 60 voters had decided to make their way to Nkayi and vote there on the following day.

By chance I came upon confirmation of this story in the shape of a signed letter sent to Zapu's executive in Bulawayo by personal messenger. In the event Zapu took the constituency by 25 874 votes to 760.

Here is the testimony of a Zapu businessman who urged me to print his name and locality, but with more honour than prudence. I shall call him Edgar. In January 1983 the Fifth Brigade arrived in his area of Tsholotsho, burned shops and houses, and launched a reign of terror. Bodies were displayed to assembled schoolchildren (an old gambit of the Rhodesian security forces):

"This is a dissident."

In May 1983 Edgar was arrested by the CIO and taken to Stops Camp where he was flung into a cell with 20 others, beaten and subjected to electric torture.

In March 1984 he was again arrested at his shop in Bulawayo. This time his interment, lasted from only 9pm to 5am but he endured a terrible beating. He took the case to a lawyer, with a doctor's certificate and photographs of his lacerated body, but got nowhere.

I am now a Zapu man myself. I don't trust Nkomo. His leadership is both opportunistic and sterile, his rhetoric on the problem of armed dissidence, disingenuous. In 1982, at least 3,000 former Zipra freedom fighters deserted the National Army in fear and fury, carrying their weapons with them. Many embarked on a campaign of killing and terror -- hence the deaths of over 60 members of white farming families (leaving vast, deserted stretches of viable commercial ranching land up for sale), the murder of government officials, and the fear which underlies the brutality, rape and butchery handed out by the Shona Fifth Brigade in hostile terrain.

Nothing can excuse the terror that Mugabe has inflicted on Matabeleland, but to pretend that dissidents don't exist, or are agents of a Machiavellian government, defies the historical record and insults the intelligence.

In many respects, I admire Mugabe's government, particularly its crash health and education, programmes, its minimum wage legislation, its early (through largely aborted) attempts at land reform, and the dignity it has brought to the people after 90 years of colonialism.

But too often the appeal to "tradition" is a mask for power-hunger, for crushing dissent. Freedom of association, assembly and speech benefits the citizens of Africa no less than Europeans; the rule of law is a universal blessing; detention without trial at ministerial pleasure is a universal evil.

Zimbabwe is now more than ever bitterly divided along tribal lines. A new, federal constitution might be a solution -- but Zapu has not yet demanded it and the Harare government will never grant it. Rhodesia was a colonial creation, the megalomaniac dream of Cecil Rhodes. But the one legacy of colonialism sacred to African nationalist leaders are the arbitrary fiefs they inherited. What you have, you keep.

The Priorities: Unity Now, Socialism Tomorrow

"We still have to build national unity and stop killing each other before we can ever really think of building a foundation for socialism," said a member of the Zimbabwean Left in a recent interview.

A former combatant, he has been through the disillusion of the what-should-have-beens, has personally experienced the tragedy of the interparty violence of the past three years, and has latterly come around to the view that, whatever the flaws, independence in 1980 was a major advance and an important staging post for future struggles.

He, like almost all Zimbabweans, both black and white, has been heartened by the latest unity moves between Robert Mugabe's ruling Zanu (PF) Party and Joshua Nkomo's Zapu.

They offer the prospect of a solution to the black (and most important) side of Zimbabwe's "national question".

And they seem to provide the only possible peaceful path to the democratic one-party state Mugabe so badly wants.

The integration of whites is of only residual importance these days; their relevance is limited mainly to the economy. Most seem quite relieved to be out of the political spotlight again after all the hullabuloo they caused by voting a Smith majority into the 20 white seats in late June.

"Leave the dancing to the rhinoceros," said one white industrialist, informing me with glee that Ian Smith had now been classified a member of the rhinocerotidae family -- he's outlasted the dinosaurs.

It is still too early to predict with any certainty the likely outcome of the talks, but prospects for success look good.

Party political sources say a powerful group of Zanu (PF) "realists", who include Deputy Prime Minister Simon Muzenda, Information Minister Nathan Shamuyarira and, latterly, Minister of Political Affairs Maauro Nyagumbo are pushing hard to an accommodation with Nkomo. And they appear to have Mugabe's ear.

They are said to be arguing, among others, that ruthless army action in Matabeleland has done nothing to cut support for Zapu, as the July general election for blacks evinced. Zimbabwean troops' experience in Mozambique to help Frelimo fight the MNR has shown the proportions dissident activity could take in Zimbabwe (perhaps with a little help from Pretoria). And there is little prospect of effective development and progress to socialism if the country is divided.

There are other factors as well. Western governments are, say sources, none too keen to have a leaky Matabeleland-Transvaal border as the South African situation hots up. A number of Zimbabwe's friends in the world socialist movement do not want problems with Nkomo to stand between them and a warm embrace of Mugabe. And, it is unfitting for the new leader of the non-aligned movement, which Mugabe now is, to have a bloody corner in his backyard.

But, within the ruling party are other powerful figures who might have a lot to lose through unity -- notably their ability to credibly claim to represent the people of Matabeleland.

For his part, Nkomo is said by party colleagues to be bitterly disillusioned and ready to deal at almost any price. That portion of his party which is not in detention is in tatters. He wants out, and a peaceful, honourable retirement.

But the dissident violence is unlikely to stop if and when plum jobs are given Nkomo and co. Rather, peace is likely to depend more on an amnesty for dissidents and the release from detention of former Zipra guerrilla leaders Dumiso Dabengwa and Lookout Masuku.

While rank and file Leftwingers in Zanu (PF) and Zapu have pushed most consistently for unity, the kind of rapprochement now in prospect would be a victory more for the Right and centre of the two parties than for the Left.

"The prospect is a bourgeois coalition, which reduces the dynamic purely to one of competition between the two sets of leaderships and the patronage they can dispense among their followers.

"On the other hand, the Left would prefer the basis of an alliance to be a common programme," said a Zapu source.

"Our situation has served only to emphasize the danger of trying to skip stages artificially. There's not a hope in hell we can build socialism in this country without first crafting the bricks of unity and democracy," he added.

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ZIMBABWE

REPORTER EXAMINES GOVERNMENT'S STATE STRUCTURE

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 18-24 Oct 85 p 14

[Article by Howard Barell]

[Text] There are many conspiracy theories about how Rhodesia exited Lancaster House as Zimbabwe, of which only one, implying Machievellian brilliance within the British Foreign Office, merits any attention.

Now that the pilgrimage to ANC headquarters in Lusaka is becoming vogue and the "tactics of talks" are taking on a new importance, this particular conspiracy theory may have some relevance to South Africans.

The theory is voiced mainly by the alienated elements of the Zimbabwe Left-- some of whom worked very hard during the liberation struggle, some of whom are now in government, others of whom are now in jail, but many of whom are merely very vocal what-should-have-beens.

Basically, the theory is that Richard Luce had around him in the late seventies (thanks to David Owen's earlier brief sojourn as British Foreign Secretary) a coterie of bright young aides. They were well versed in the revolutionary classics, were able to exercise brain power rather than xenophobia over the Rhodesian problem, and were able to carry Margaret Thatcher and Lord Carrington beyond their prejudice to several intelligent realisations.

These young luminaries were able to present a cogent argument that a settlement, even if it resulted in a Mugabe and/or Nkomo government, would still mean a de facto western-type government in Zimbabwe. This would be the result less of any terms of settlement than of conditions on the ground.

These conditions were:

First, that there were within the two wings of the Zimbabwean Liberation Movement, Zanu and Zapu, no coherent forces for socialism. So, yell as anyone might about being a Marxist Leninist, there just was not a working class movement, an ideologically committed communist party or even a clearly spelt-out programme to constitute an immediate and concrete force for socialism.

Two, the Zimbabwean Liberation War was basically peasant-based and, more importantly, it derived its problematic from what the black peasantry wanted--more land. That is, ownership and acquisition--more for the Kulak class. There is nothing wrong with the peasants' concerns, according to the revolutionary classics, but the golden rule is that it is only the centrality of the working class and its problematic that provides the programmatic base for the progress to socialism.

Three, the two guerrilla armies, Zanu and Zipra, together potentially the most meaningful forces for socialism, would have to be largely demobilised after a settlement. This would be a requirement of law and order--and not all guerrillas could be accommodated in a new national army. Once their AK47s were in the armouries, the people of Zimbabwe would, in the broadest sense, be disarmed. Democratic structures within Zanu and Zapu had been severely strained during the years of repression and war. Semi-legal community, union and other organisations had not been developed as part of the liberation effort. So, whatever the democratic intentions of the party leaderships, the broad populace would be hard-pressed to push for radical programmes for some time.

Four, in the event of a settlement, a liberation movement government would inherit a largely intact Rhodesian state structure on which it would have to rely.

Five, given the years of rivalry between Zanu and Zapu leaderships, they could be relied upon (perhaps with a little mischief from western embassies) to have a serious fall out. The effect would again be to weaken mainly black Zimbabweans' attempts to give material meaning to "liberation".

Six, whoever came to power in a post-settlement government would still have to rely on the people Ian Smith did to make the shoes, grow the food, create the jobs and extend the loans.

Seven, if the basic concession of black state power could be extracted from Smith and Muzorewa, the frontline states could be relied upon to force Zanu and Zapu into a settlement in order to end the war.

And eight, given the balance of forces in southern Africa, a liberation movement government in Zimbabwe would be able only to allow the ANC to share its basket and bark from afar at the rabid rottweilers in Pretoria.

Result: a variant of liberal democracy in Zimbabwe; the country reintegrates into the western capitalist economy with the attendant benefits for Lonrho, Rio Tinto, Anglo American and the rest; nationalisation is really no option; rigorous socialism remains at least a decade away.

Probably, the Zimbabwean Left credits Luce and Co with too much.

But are these not exactly the kind of calculations now being done by relatively sophisticated elements in the South African power structure.

If not, the intellectual torpor is more serious than it appears.

The central thrust for these ruling South African elements must be: ditch racism, concede a variant of liberal democracy; but above all, save capitalism.

For the idealist on the Left, liberal democracy is a terrible defeat.

For more serious types on the Zimbabwean Left, it is an important, albeit limited, advance on a road to socialism that is proving much longer and more badly signposted than expected.

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ZIMBABWE

NATION SEEN AS EXAMPLE OF PEASANT-BASED ECONOMY

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 18-24 Oct 85 pp 13

[Article by Howard Barrell]

[Text] Your ANC's Freedom Charter could turn out to look a bit adventurist.

"How on earth are you going to nationalise the mines and banks as well as restore the land to those who work it in a short time without interrupting production seriously and taking on international business in a battle you're unlikely to win?"

The author of the question is a participant in Zimbabwe's embattled co-operative movement. Though sometimes bitterly critical of the Mugabe government's economic pragmatism, he recognises that, in his words, "Socialism is not a matter of slogans--it's a matter of work."

The Mugabe government has moved slowly and very carefully on the economy. China and Yugoslavia, historically close allies of Zanu, seem to provide the most important standards.

The government has made clear it is going for a gradual economic transformation--of a kind and pace that will not result in the loss of either producers' nerves or production itself.

State participation in strategic industries--a matter of policy--has been on a "willing buyer, willing seller" basis. It is being used, in the words of one top civil servant to "get to know the economy". The implication is that state participation would become more far-reaching with time. But, of now, nobody has been forced to sell; nobody has lost a bean.

In its economic ventures, the government is committed to profitability, and it has not introduced any socialist-inclined practices on the shopfloor.

If it's your particular concern in life, whether white or black, you can still own a very large house and a very large business; you can still make a massive profit, though you're now expected to pay something like a living wage; you can still have an army of servants keeping your pool aglitter, your garden tidy and your children quiet; you can still buy whatever you want, though you may pay black market prices to have a video like the Jones's;

you can still go on holiday overseas, though you might end up being devious in order to supplement your small annual foreign currency allowance; your children can still get an excellent education, although you will have to accept that this right is now being extended, as best as possible, to other children as well; you can still, if it does something for you, moan like hell about "dropping standards", though you'll meet not anger any more, but ridicule; you can still walk through the streets of Harare or Bulawayo with a sack full of money and less fear than in Johannesburg or Cape Town.

In fact you can, if you absolutely must, still play Bwana or Baas--though the role now demands a far less crude script than in the past.

Far from losing, there have been some remarkable economic gains since independence, which include increases in production by both volume and value.

The most spectacular success has been the peasant farming sector. At 850 000 households (about four million people), Zimbabwe's peasant sector is much larger in relative terms than its South African counterpart. Many more people in Zimbabwe depend wholly on the land for their livelihood.

Some 40 percent of the marketed staple maize crop is now produced by the peasant sector. Taking into account that additional portion of production which is held back by families for domestic consumption, this means the peasant sector is now outproducing the highly efficient white commercial farmers who control almost all good crop-growing land.

Peasants are now producing an estimated 10 times more than they did at any time under Smith.

This has been achieved by overcoming what one agriculturalist calls "the legacy of gross neglect" of previous governments.

"The Mugabe government has really put its money where its mouth is and brought services such as marketing depots, fertilisers, seeds, credit opportunities and research and extension much closer to the peasant farmers," he says.

The result is that Zimbabwe is the outstanding agricultural example in Africa. Hard work and a remarkable self-reliance among peasant farmers showed just after independence that three years of drought were not enough to cause a famine in Zimbabwe.

Over the past five years, only about 30 000 peasant families have been resettled out of an initial target figure of 165 000. This has meant there has not been any fundamental restructuring of the agricultural sector; and the same applies to other sectors -- such as manufacturing, commerce and mining.

While strengthening the white commercial farming sector, the government has extended support for commercial agricultural production into the peasant sector.

But, there has been no real intervention in the industrial sector, which has had its ups and downs since independence but is still experiencing higher volume outputs than in UDI days. What has not changed is the shortage of foreign currency for machinery and parts.

In the commercial sector, apart from a few price controls, "market forces" have been allowed to develop with little hindrance. The indexed value of retail trade is three times higher than it was between 1975 and 1978 under Smith.

While there have been some joint ventures in tourism and hotels, banking and publishing, these again do not amount to restructuring. And the creation of various development financing and marketing bodies--like the minerals marketing corporation, which markets all Zimbabwe's mining production--indicates the government's desire to influence indirectly rather than intervene directly.

The collective co-operative movement, comprising largely former guerrillas, struggles on against enormous odds. It still lacks a composite legal and aid framework within which to flourish, and constitutes no challenge at all to capitalist production.

Although industrial and agricultural workers have enjoyed several statutory wage increases since independence, they have probably benefited least at this stage. Their cost of living has risen faster than for higher income groups. And the trade union movement has been an unmitigated disaster and boil of corruption for much of the post-independence period.

The economic and social benefits which have accrued to so many other black Zimbabweans--the bureaucratic and business petit bourgeoisie as well as the peasantry--appear to result mainly from the lifting of political, social and economic restrictions to them.

"The brakes have been taken off; the engine has not been overhauled," said the agriculturalist.

When that overhaul will start--perhaps whether it ever will--is a question that is unlikely to be answered much before the 1990s.

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